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Editorial

It seems clear that the study of ancient music is flourishing; the number of seminars, conferences and workshops on topics in the field increases every year, and more books and articles pour from the presses, encouragingly many of them by members of a relatively young generation of scholars. I'm pleased to be able to present the second issue of *GRMS* (in which over half the authors whose work appears could fairly be described as 'young scholars') as our current contribution to these activities; and I can also bear witness to the fact that an excellent third issue is already in the making. But that does not mean that there will be no room for articles that have not yet been received or proposed. On the contrary, in fact. Readers may recall that it is our policy to publish a selection of papers from each year's conference of Moisa, the society from which this journal sprang. But in 2013 the conference (in Urbino) will take place too late in the year for papers presented there to appear in *GRMS* 3; hence there will be more space than usual for other contributions, and new submissions would be welcome.

The present issue begins by continuing a major theme of the first, with two more papers on the fifth-century 'Musician's Grave' excavated in Athens. The first, by Eutychia Lygouri-Tolia, discusses the topography of the site and its environs and places it in its social and economic setting. The second offers further studies of the papyrus found in the tomb: Athina Alexopoulou gives a detailed account of the technical procedures that have been used in deciphering the writing that survives, and Ioanna Karamanou examines some of the fragments that were not discussed in Martin West's paper in *GRMS* 1. Next year, in our third issue, we hope to publish additional articles on the contents of the tomb, about which the last word has certainly not yet been said.

The four articles that follow originated as papers presented to the 2013 Moisa conference in Agrigento, which was devoted to the music of Magna Graecia and Italy. Despite sharing this overall theme, they have very different topics: Vergara Cerqueira draws on the evidence of Apulian vase paintings to uncover clues about ethnically distinct musical traditions in the region; Villari writes on the musical activities that took place in the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros; Perrot examines the epigraphical evidence about music and musicians in Magna Graecia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; and Walden's paper is

a study of musical ideas in Vitruvius' *De architectura*. A fifth article (by Egert Pöhlmann) based on work presented at the Agrigento conference will appear in our next issue.

The range of topics expands further in the last three papers of this volume. Franklin echoes Vergara Cerqueira's theme of ethnicity, but directs his attention to the music of a much earlier period in Cyprus; Ercoles discusses two of the obscurer *nomoi* said to have originated in a seventh-century Peloponnesian context, the *Apothetos* and the *Schoinion*; and Hadjimichael offers a detailed examination of Aristophanes' treatment of Bacchylides, whose implicit presence in his comedies can confidently be inferred, although—rather mysteriously—he never names him.

In preparing *GRMS* 2, the members of the Editorial Board have had to find their way round the publisher's thorough and efficient but rather intricate on-line editorial system. None of us, I think, has found it very easy, but we are learning; and I'm grateful both to my colleagues for their continuing efforts, and to the staff at Brill, who have been unfailingly patient and helpful in offering advice and rescuing us from our mistakes.

Andrew Barker

Editor

Two Burials of 430 B.C. in Daphne, Athens: Their Topography, and the Profession of the So-Called 'Poet' in Tomb 2

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Abstract

The two tombs discussed in a series of articles in GRMS 1, including the so-called 'Tomb of the Poet' belong to the cemetery of the demos Alopeke, which bordered both sides of a street, the Astiki Odos, which led from the Diomeia gate to Sounion and the Laureotike with its mining industry. Several other tombs were uncovered along this street, which coincides in many parts with the modern Odos Vouliagmenis. The grave gifts of the alleged poet are very unusual and call for explanation. Nearly all the items shown in teaching-scenes on the famous Duris kylix can also be found in Tomb 2. Perhaps, then, the young person buried in Tomb 2 was not a poet but a teacher. But questions about the age, sex and family relationship of the two deceased persons and reason for their deaths remain open and can only be answered by DNA-Analysis of the skeletons.

Keywords

grave gifts – musical instruments – Athenian topography – profession of the alleged 'Poet'

1 Preliminaries

The archaeological Museum of Piraeus, which is located next to the Hellenistic theatre of Zea (Figure 1), is one of the most important museums of Greece. The Museum itself contains various important collections, and also displays several masterpieces of Greek art. In a small room which was designed in 1998, among



FIGURE 1 *Museum of Piraeus, court and Zea-Theatre*

findings of ceramics and small items of daily life in ancient Greece, which came from excavated areas under the responsibility of the 26th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, there are exhibited in the central vitrine (Figure 2) the findings from the so called ‘Tomb of the Poet’ in Daphne.

The tomb of the poet was found by chance during sewerage works in May 1981 on Olga Street and the street near the plot with the number 53 at Daphne. Today Olga Street is renamed as Street of the National Resistance (Figure 3a). There followed a salvage excavation under the direction of the archaeologist Angelos Liagouras¹ of the Second Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, later Ephoros in Olympia, and under the immediate supervision of Ioanna Drakotou² who was then a young archaeologist, and later director of the same Ephoreia.

Salvage excavations, by contrast with systematic excavations, are performed if antiquities are revealed during the execution of some public or private

¹ Liagouras 1981, 47.

² I would like to thank Mrs. Ioanna Drakotou for all the information and precious material she has given me. She described to me also the condition of the two skeletons and the orientation of their heads to the east.



FIGURE 2 *Show-case in the Piraeus-Museum: The Tomb of the Poet*



FIGURE 3A *The topography of the excavation*

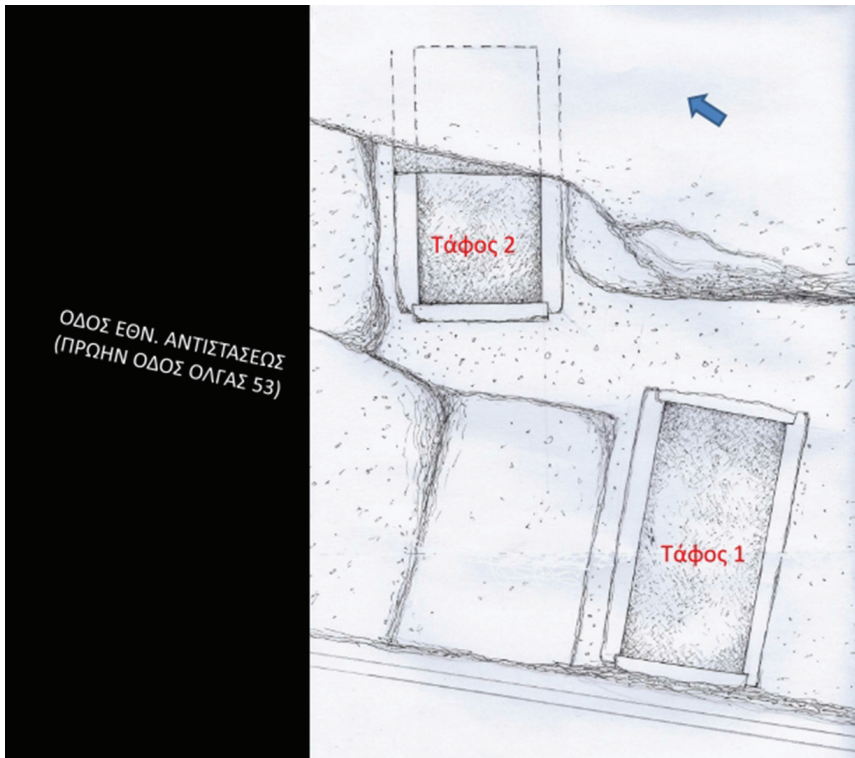
enterprise. Even if these excavations are executed in some cases under difficult conditions, the antiquities they reveal throw light on the history and the archaeology of the relevant place.

2 Content and Restoration of Two Tombs in Daphne

During such a salvage excavation two tombs were found in Daphne, specifically two cist graves (κιβωτιόσχημοι τάφοι) which are both oriented from east to west with some small distance between them. They consist of plates made of limestone (marble) for the bottom, four of them for the sides and two as lids of the tomb (Figure 3b). Tomb 1, which was first excavated on 13.05.1981,



FIGURE 3B *Photo of 14.05.1981 of the excavation*

FIGURE 4A *Sketch of the excavation*

contained a skeleton with its head oriented to the east and four white-ground lekythoi.³ Tomb 2 which was explored the next day (14.05.1981) was found a small distance to the north-east of tomb 1. Both tombs were constructed in the same way, with the same material and the same measurements, 1.95 m long, 0.93 wide and 0.99 high (Figure 4a). The excavation of tomb 2 had to cope with extraordinary difficulties, as we see on Figure 3b, because the location of a modern pipeline made it impossible to remove the second of the two plates which covered the cist.

A design of tomb 2 (Figure 4b), which was made after the tomb had been cleared in 1981, shows the position of the skeleton with its head, which had disintegrated into its parts, oriented to the east. Mrs. Drakotou informed me that on the teeth, which were preserved in very good condition, were found traces of red colour, which were probably the result of a veil which covered

3 For the lekythoi see Simon and Wehgartner 2013, 61-71, esp. pl. III 1a-d; III 2 a-d.

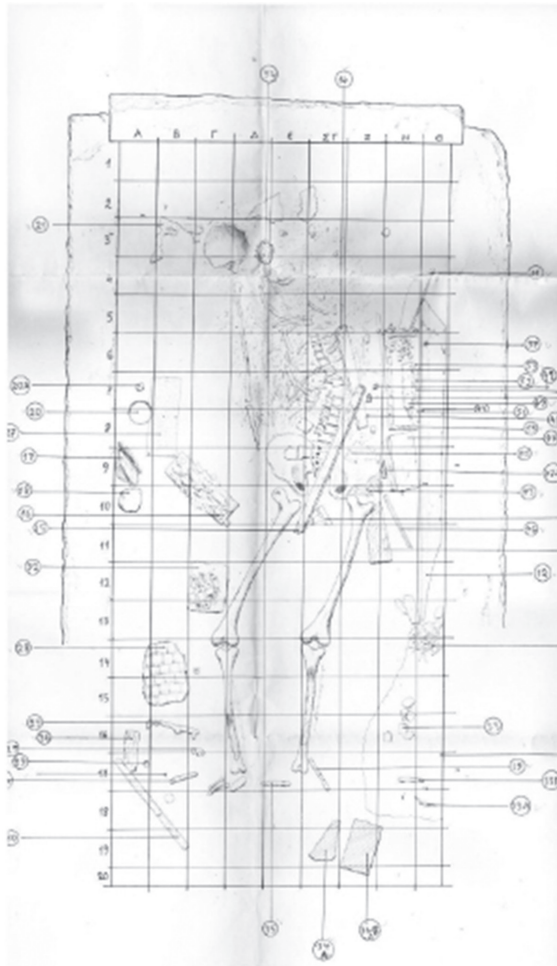


FIGURE 4B *Later design of tomb 2*

the face of the deceased before the burial. Many parts of the two skeletons are preserved today in the Piraeus Museum.⁴ Some examples can be seen on Figures 5a and 5b.

The grave-gifts formed a collection of items unrelated to the usual grave-gifts in ancient tombs, as we shall see. There were found three musical instruments, a harp, parts of the shell of a tortoise, which had been the soundbox of a lyre, and one tube of a wooden aulos with mouthpiece. There are four wooden tablets with remains of wax on them, obviously parts of a polyptychon, and

4 See Pöhlmann 2013, 12 f; pl I 3, I 4a, I 4b, I 5a, I 5b, I 6a, I 6b.



FIGURE 5A *Bones of tomb 2: fragments of the skull*



FIGURE 5B *Bones of tomb 2: right temple with auditory passage*

fragments of a fifth. A wooden box contained a bronze stylus (γράφίς), a bronze inkpot and an iron chisel. There were also an iron saw, a complete scroll of papyrus and eight astragaloi.⁵

Because of the variety of the grave gifts and the diversity of their functions it is obvious that they suit a deceased who in his daily life attended to different occupations. He was musician and possibly a poet, who wrote his texts with his writing utensils in the polyptychon and then copied them onto a papyrus roll. With his iron saw he constructed and repaired his musical instruments, and he evidently used to amuse himself by playing with the astragaloi.

The findings of the tombs were immediately transferred for restoration into the laboratories of the National Archaeological Museum, in order to give them first aid, especially the papyrus which was the most fragile item of tomb 2. The fragments of the papyri, together with the other finds from the tombs, were transferred in 1996 into the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, following an application by the Ephoros George Steinhauer, in order to be displayed on the occasion of the great reopening of the Piraeus Museum, which took place in 1998.⁶ With the exception of the fragments of papyrus, which remained as they were, the finds were again restored before the exhibition by the conservator of the Museum, Mrs Tatiana Panagopoulou. She occupied herself with the reconstruction of the triangular harp, made progress in assembling and gluing together the parts of the shell of the tortoise, that is, the soundbox of the lyre, restored the writing case with the stylus, the inkpot and the chisel and supplemented the tablets of the polyptychon and its fragments.

The four lekythoi from tomb 1 can be dated to 430/425 BC, according to the German archaeological expert, Prof. Dr. Erika Simon.⁷ The commonest motif of the paintings on these vessels is the visit to the tomb. On one of the four lekythoi in tomb 1 this motif is clearly recognizable. In the middle of the scene there appears a grave stele which is adorned with purple bands.⁸ On both sides of the grave there appear two figures, as usual, on the one side a young man, and on the other side a mourning woman. This can be seen better on a lekythos (Figure 6) from the cemetery in the Kerameikos.⁹ Considering that tombs 1 and 2 represent the same type with exactly the same shape and the same dimensions, the same orientation of the tomb and the skeletons with their heads to the east, and lie very close to one another, we are guided to the conclusion that

5 For the contents of both tombs see Pöhlmann 2013, 12-14; pl. I 1-pl. I 8b.

6 Steinhauer 1998, 42.

7 See Simon and Wehgartner 2013, 66.

8 See Simon and Wehgartner 2013, pl. III 2c-d.

9 Stambolidis and Parlama 2000.



FIGURE 6 *Lekythos from Kerameikos*

both tombs were constructed and used at the same time. It is likely that the two deceased persons were kindred, though this can only be proved by DNA analysis, which may also establish the sex of both persons.¹⁰

3 The Demos Alopeke and the Astiki Odos

The two tombs might not have been the only ones in this place. The excavator, Mrs. Ioanna Drakotou, informed me that there were other tombs also, especially cremations, traces of which came to light during the progress of the excavation, but they could not be investigated because of their position under the

¹⁰ According to first estimate the deceased in tomb 1 was about 40 years old and the one in the tomb 2 was about 20 years old. See Pöhlmann 2013, 12 f.

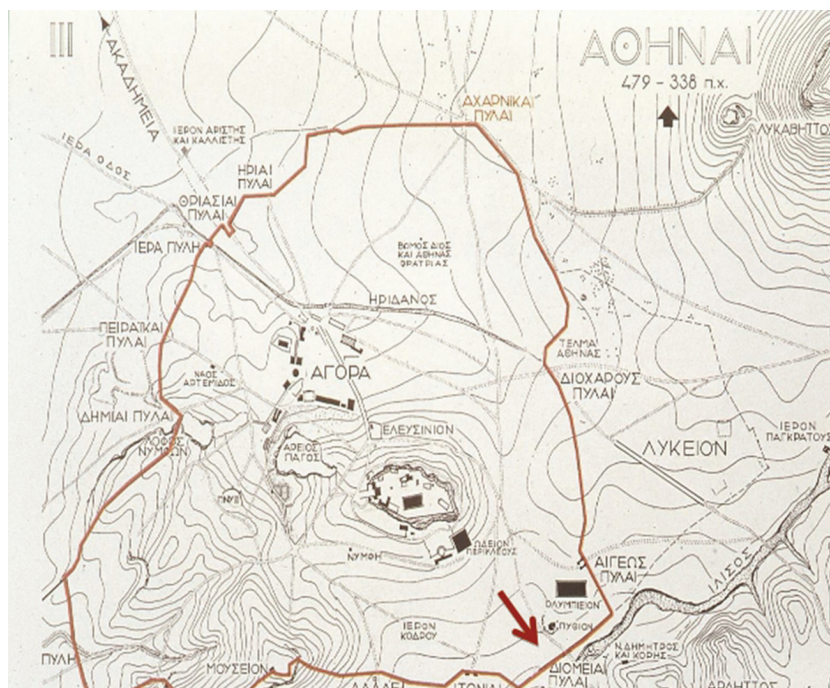


FIGURE 7 Map of ancient Athens

edge of the modern street. It is therefore clear that the two tombs belonged to the cemetery of the ancient Attic demos Alopeke, which is situated roughly on the periphery of the modern suburb Daphne (Figure 7).

After the fall of the Peisistratidae, Kleisthenes abolished the differences between social classes and united all inhabitants of Attica without regard to the place of their properties or businesses, imposing on them a division of Athenian society into ten *phylai* and 176 *demoi* (Figure 8). Aristotle reports the details of Kleisthenes' reforms, informing us that he increased the number of the *phylai* from four to ten and that he gave every phyle fifty *bouleutai*, thus fixing the members of the *boule* at five hundred.

The *demos* of Alopeke bordered on the ancient *demos* of Diomeia, whose territory began just outside the city walls, near the homonymous gate of Diomeia. Part of the *demos* of Diomeia was Kynosarges, a suburb of Athens, in which were the Herakleion of Kynosarges, a sanctuary devoted to Herakles, and the well known gymnasium of Kynosarges, one of the three oldest gymnasia in Athens.

The cemetery of Alopeke itself was located at the borderline of an old street. As everybody knows, it was usual in antiquity to bury the deceased outside the

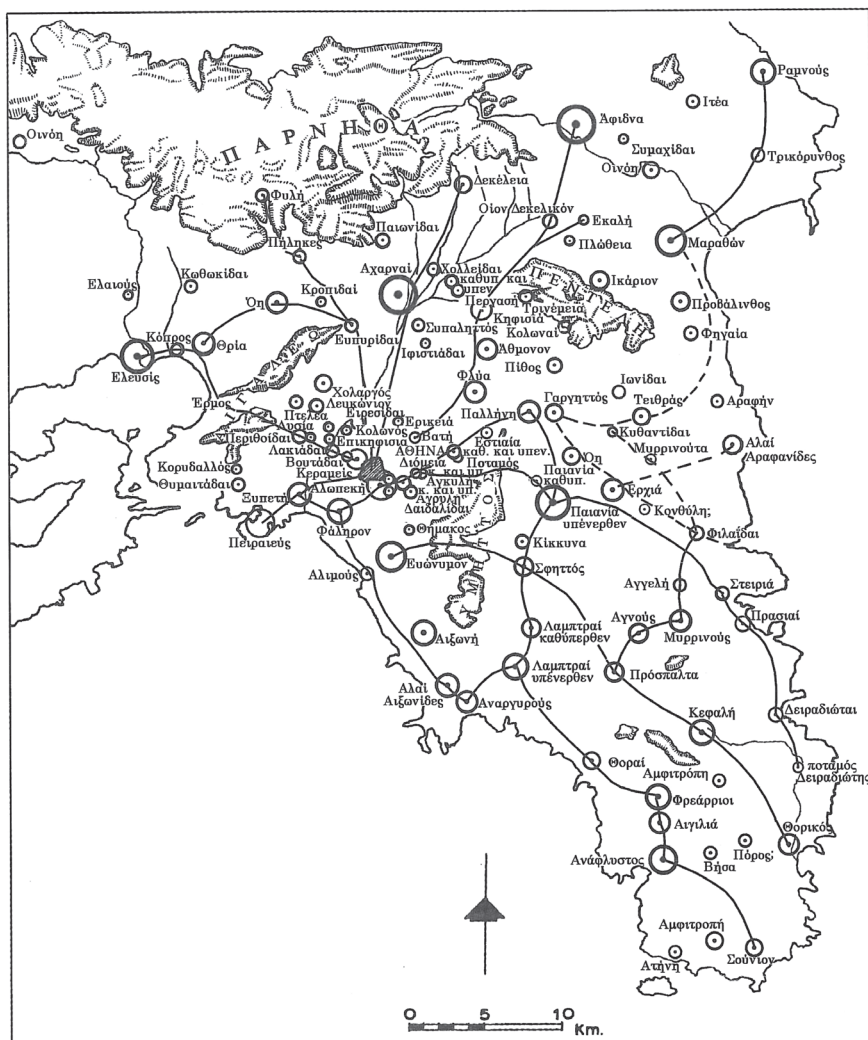


FIGURE 8 Map of the Attic demoi

town, that is outside the city walls, alongside both sides of old streets or at the same distance from their axis, so that the tombs could be seen by passers-by.

On traders' inscriptions from the Athenian Agora, connected with the hiring of metal-workshops in Laureotike, the relevant street is named *Astiki Odos*.¹¹ It began at the gate of the Themistoklean wall, namely the wall of the city which

11 Kaza-Papageorgiou, K., Kakabogianni, O., Andriku, E., Ntova, A., *Η Αστική Οδός*, in Korres 2009, 199 ff.

was named Diomis or Gate of Diomeia and was situated to the south-west of the Olympieion. The street was a central way for traffic, the axis of which coincided in many parts with the modern Odos Vouliagmenis. On a 19th-century map of Hymettos by Curtius-Kaupert,¹² which reveals the old topography and the relief of the surface, we may follow the route of the street on the western slopes of Hymettos. The street passes through the coastal demoï of Euonymon, Halimus, Aixone and Alai Aixonides, turns inland at Anagyrous and ends at Sounion and the Laureotike, where mines were working.

A part of the old street was investigated on a plot between the streets Odos Eleutherias and Odos Leontos in the suburb of Argyroupolis to the west of Hymettus, between Ilioupolis in the north and Glyfada in the south (Figure 9a). It was excavated by the archaeologist K. Kaza and reliably identified as a part of the Astiki Odos.¹³ This street was uncovered over a length of 56 meters. Its kerbstones, which limited and held together the three consecutive layers of earth and much rubbish, are preserved. The street was 5 metres wide and allowed traffic in both directions. There are preserved traces of at least three wheel-tracks. This is an additional element which confirms that the Astiki Odos was a carriage-road for heavy traffic.

In Daphne and in the old demos Alopeke, no part of the Astiki Odos has so far been uncovered, though the direction of it is defined by the tombs, cemeteries and workshops which lined the street on both sides. These have been excavated in recent years mainly on the occasion of the construction of new Metro stations (Figure 9b).

Part of a closed cemetery of twelve tombs and parts of a potter's workshop with a kiln for firing vessels were found in the course of the construction of the Metro Station Agios Ioannis (Figure 10a), near the church Agios Ioannis Kynegos at Odos Vouliagmenis.¹⁴ The grave gifts, mainly lekythoi, are to be dated to the middle of the 5th century B.C. Among them should be mentioned a red-figure lekythos with a representation of the farewell between a young soldier and his wife (Figure 10b). The painting is attributed to the Klügmann-painter and therefore safely dated to 425 B.C. It is obvious that the cemetery and the workshop, which were used at the same time, belong to the old street, the Astiki Odos. Important parts of ancient rural farm-houses were found in the area of another station of the Metro, namely Agios Dimitrios in Daphne.¹⁵ Finds from the

12 Curtius and Kaupert 1881-1900, Blatt IV Athen-Hymettos.

13 Kaza-Papageorgiou K., in Korres 2009, 199-200.

14 Hatzipouliou E., *Agios Ioannis Station*, in Stambolidis N. and Parlama L. 2000, 129-131.

15 Kaza-Papageorgiou K. 2000, 103-105.

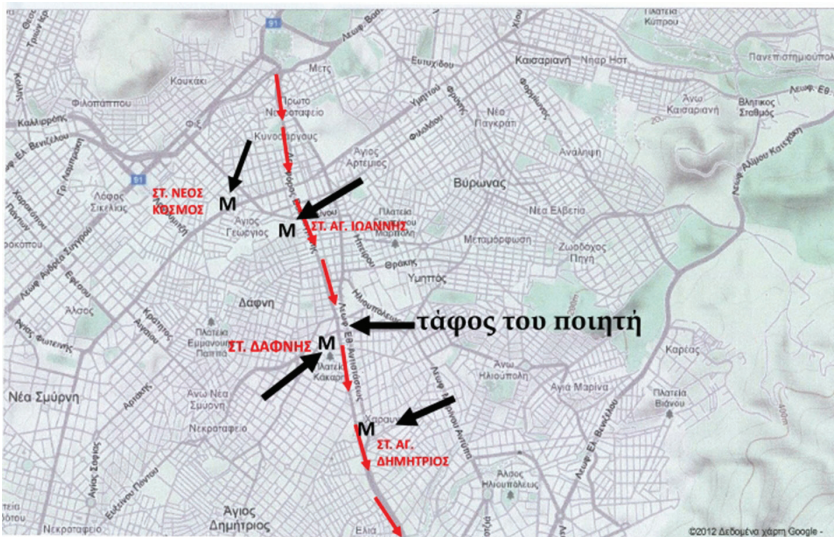
FIGURE 9A *Part of Astiki Odos in Argynroupolis*FIGURE 9B *Metro Stations Neos Kosmos, Agios Ioannis, Daphne, Agios Dimitrios*



FIGURE 10A *Tomb with lekythoi in Agios Iohannis*

investigation of the ancient bed of the brook called Kalogeroi date from pre-historic times to the early Byzantine epoch. The most beautiful and reliable evidence of the use of this place belongs to the 4th century B.C., two great rectangular places with a well, which obviously belong to a rural establishment.

In the last salvage excavation of 2006-2007 at the estate of Navarchou Notara 75 Street at Agios Demetrios, part of a cemetery was again found at the site of the street. The excavation was executed by my colleague, the archaeologist from the Second Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Mrs. Anthi Dova.¹⁶ The cemetery, which is dated to the 6th and 5th century, seems to continue outside the borders of this estate (Figure 11a). There were investigated a sarcophagus of stone, which contained a female burial with grave gifts, one mirror

¹⁶ I would like to thank Mrs Anthi Dova for permission to see an unpublished paper, and for the cession of photographic material from the excavation. See Ntova A., 'Πρόσφατες αρχαιολογικές έρευνες δυτικά του Υμηττού', in Doga-Toli M. Oikonomou St., 2013, 229-230.



FIGURE 10B *Farewell to a soldier from his wife*

of bronze, two white-ground lekythoi, one lekythos in the shape of an aryballos and one small pyxis for make-up from the middle of the 5th century BC (Figure 11b). Two clay coffins, four gutters for funeral offerings and two places for dedications were also investigated. The richness of the grave gifts and the ceremonies for the deceased, attested by the gutters for offerings, are very important evidence for a demos which had previously been poor in excavated facts.

The antiquities which were found in the region which is identified with the ancient demos Alopeke are mainly tombs. They date from the 6th to the 5th century B.C., a period in which the demos and the settlements evidently flourished. It is obvious that the most important excavation so far undertaken is the so called Tomb of the Poet. The rare and special grave-gifts which accompanied the deceased give precious information about some of the gifts themselves, the musical instruments, the polyptychon and the writing utensils, but



FIGURE 11A *Cemetery in Agios Demetrios*

also highlight the personality of the deceased, given that these were the things which determined his daily occupations during his life, revealing a person with intellectual interests such as reading, writing and music.

A very similar case is worth mentioning, the tomb which was found at Abukir near Memphis, where a wandering singer was buried. He was accompanied by the things he liked in his life, a papyrus scroll, a travelling bag and a stick. On the papyrus, which is dated to the second half of the 4th century BC, is preserved a part of the *Persai* of Timotheos of Miletus.¹⁷ The oldest Greek papyrus previously found was uncovered at Derveni near Thessaloniki in 1962. It was found half-burnt in a tomb of about 330 B.C. and is about three decades older than the Timotheos-Papyrus. It contains an allegorical commentary on the Orphic Theogony.¹⁸ The papyrus in the so called Tomb of the Poet, which is dated to 430 B.C., is therefore about a hundred years older than the papyrus of Derveni and is thus the oldest papyrus with Greek text discovered to date.

¹⁷ Staikos 2002, 79.

¹⁸ Staikos 2002, 79 n. 43.

FIGURE 11B *Tomb in Agios Demetrios*

4 The Profession of the Deceased in the So Called Tomb of the Poet

The two sides of a red-figured kylix of the beginning of the 5th century B.C., made by the famous Athenian vase-painter Duris,¹⁹ depict scenes of music teaching (Figure 12). At the top of Figure 12 you see the reverse side of the kylix. In the middle the teacher, seated on a klismos, is writing on a tablet of a polyptychon covered with wax. In front of him stands the pupil. On the left, the

¹⁹ Berlin 2285, ARV² 431 s., Paralipomena 374.



FIGURE 12 *Kylix of Duris, school scenes, Berlin 2285*

teaching of the auloi is depicted. Again the pupil stands upright. At the bottom of Figure 12 you see the front side of the kylix. On the left the teacher, seated on a diphros, teaches playing the lyra to the pupil, who is also seated. The teacher who is depicted in the middle has in his hand an open papyrus roll with verses of a well-known poem, and the pupil stands in front of him. On the right of both the reverse and the front side of the kylix there is a man with a stick, the paidagogos, whose task was to accompany the pupils into the school. The two sides display nearly all the items which were uncovered in tomb 2 in Daphne, the papyrus, the polyptychon, the stylus, the lyra and the auloi.

The Duris Kylix points to the possibility that the deceased in tomb 2 was not a poet, but a teacher, who was buried with his favourite papyrus book in which he had written down the text of some classical poem, and not a poem of his own. But if it can be proved by DNA analysis that the deceased was a young

man, an *ephebos*, as the first assessments suggest, it apparently becomes more difficult to see him as teacher.

It is however still possible that he was a talented young man, the best pupil in reading and writing and especially in music, in which he must have been experienced, given the unusual array of diverse musical instruments which accompanied him into the tomb. But the most important clue that he had such experience in music is that he also constructed musical instruments, as is shown by the saw which was found among the things that accompanied him.

Examining the two scenes on the kylix of Douris we can see that in the bottom scene the teachers are depicted bearded, which means that they were mature men. On the other hand, the teachers on the upper scene are beardless, obviously young men, or rather *epheboi*. It is quite possible that the deceased of Alopeke was such an *ephebos*, whose progress in music qualified him to teach younger pupils. Besides, the hypothesis that the deceased in tomb 2 was a young, carefree person, an *ephebe* (ἐφηβος), is backed by the presence of the astragaloi in the tomb, enabling him to continue, in his other life, to play the game he enjoyed, the *astragalismos*.

The questions concerning the age of the deceased, his sex and his family relationship to the deceased in tomb 1 will remain open until they are answered through the DNA analysis of the two skeletons. The reading of the texts on the papyrus and on the waxed tablets, however, may give decisive hints concerning the individuality of the deceased. We hope that continuing studies of the international team, which received the final permission of the authorities after a positive report of the ΚΣΤ Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, will find answers to the outstanding questions. We are waiting the results with great interest.

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The Papyrus from the ‘Musician’s Tomb’ in Daphne: MII 7449, 8517-8523 (Archaeological Museum of Piraeus)

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Abstract

In Section 1 Athena Alexopoulou presents the imaging documentation techniques and the non-destructive investigation methodology applied to the papyrus-fragments from the “Musician’s Tomb” in Daphne (MI 7449, 8517-8523). They were used to learn more about the script rescued on the papyrus, and to find ways of improving its legibility. The high resolution and optical quality of the photomacrographs enables the detection of lines containing letter-sequences and syllables on the surface and underneath, improves readability and allows further philological interpretation. In Section 2 Ioanna Karamanou edits the legible papyrus-fragments of MI 8517, 8520, 8521, which were not edited in Martin West’s edition (*GRMS* 1, 2013), offering an overview of the legible material and exploring its literary character. Having detected more readings suggestive of poetic words, she argues that they are consistent with and may supplement those of Prof. West’s edition, reinforcing the likelihood that the earliest Greek papyrus employed poetic diction.

Keywords

earliest Greek papyrus – “Musician’s Tomb” – Daphne tombs – imaging documentation – non-destructive methodology – photomacrography – high resolution – Greek literary papyri – Ionic alphabet

Section 1. Techniques Applied for Imaging Documentation

Athena A. Alexopoulou

Introduction

The presence of a papyrus roll among the findings of tomb II that came to light during an emergency excavation in Daphne, Odos Olgas 53, Athens, was considered from the beginning as a very important finding.¹ The tomb, also referred to as 'The Musician's Tomb' and dated in 430/425 BC,² contained, among other things, parts of musical instruments, a writing-case, an ink pot, a chisel, a stylus and knuckle-bones, indications that the deceased was a musician. The Daphne papyrus comprised several leaves, pasted together as an amorphous mass due to the very humid environment and a white material resembling plaster which had destroyed most of the upper part of it. Although the papyrus at first was considered completely destroyed and unexploitable,³ it and the polyptychon tablets have special significance, since they are the oldest Greek text examples so far found in Greek territory, almost a century older than the famous Derveni papyrus.

However, after fixation of the papyrus mass, the conservator A.Glinos, who was put in charge of the conservation project at the time, carefully separated legible fragments from the formless mass,⁴ trying at the same time to separate them from each other when that was possible. He managed to salvage several medium-sized papyrus pieces (max. 3 × 4 cm) and a plethora of small fragments bearing one, two or no letters at all. The detached fragments were attached to a silk fabric between two sheets of glass 0.5 cm apart, keeping joins where possible, but not always preserving their original relative positions. Consequently no continuous text appears anywhere. Eight such frames with code numbers ΜΠ 7449, ΜΠ 8517-8523, containing innumerable tiny fragments are now kept at the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. The frames are shown in Figures 1-8. The detailed story of the excavation, and especially the account of the condition of the papyrus on its discovery and its restoration at

1 To Βήμα, 26 May 1981.

2 Simon-Wehgartner 2013, 64, C.Terzes, 2013 GRMS 1 (2013) 12, p. 126 "The Daphne Harp".

3 To Βήμα, 24 September 2006; NatMus BE 29/1981, 19/20 May 1981. Report of K.Asimenos "[...] Επρόκειτο πράγματι για πάπυρο τελείως αποσπασμένο που είχε μετατραπεί σε άμορφη μάζα. Από τον πάπυρο ήταν σε σχετικά καλύτερη κατάσταση μόνο ένα μικρό κομμάτι διαστάσεων 3×4cm, στο οποίο φαινόταν γραφή".

4 NatMusBE29/1981, 23 July 1981 A.Glinos Report "[...] Όσα από τα σπαράγματα διασώθηκαν γίνεται καθημερινώς προσπάθεια αποκολλήσεώς τους γιατί πολλά από αυτά είναι δύο και τρία μαζί". "[...] Ο αγώνας για τη διάσωση και του μικρότερου τεμαχίου παπύρου που μπορεί να διασωθεί μέχρι και το μεγαλύτερο συνεχίζεται".

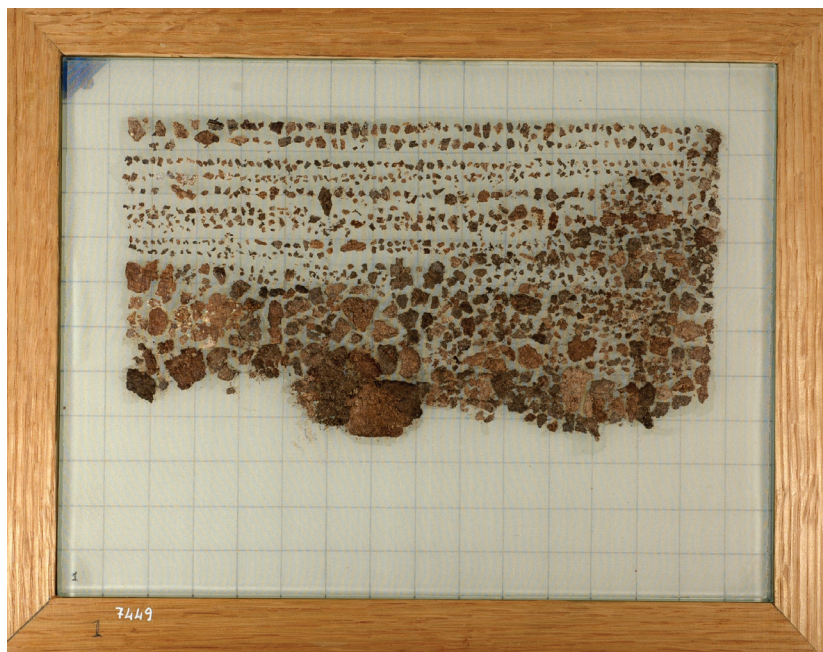


FIGURE 1 *MII 7449 (Frame 1)*



FIGURE 2 *MII 8517 (Frame 2)*



FIGURE 3 *MII 8518 (Frame 3)*



FIGURE 4 *MII 8519 (Frame 4)*



FIGURE 5 *MII 8520 (Frame 5)*



FIGURE 6 *MII 8521 (Frame 6)*



FIGURE 7 *MI* 8522 (Frame 7)



FIGURE 8 *MI* 8523 (Frame 8)

the National Archaeological Museum in Athens has been presented in papers by E. Pöhlmann and A. Alexopoulou.⁵

Due to the significance of the findings, independent teams were established in which researchers and scientists of different specializations—philologists, musicologists, papyrologists, archaeologists, archeometrists, anthropologists and conservation scientists—took part, each one in his or her own field, to gain a global understanding of the objects. The imaging documentation and the thorough non-destructive investigation of the Daphne papyrus was assigned to the Laboratory of Physical Chemical Methods for Diagnosis and Documentation (LANDT), Department for Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, TEI of Athens. The main aim of this approach was to acquire more information about the script rescued on the papyrus than could be detected by the naked eye, and to collect elements which would enhance the investigation of the writing, improving its legibility and facilitating the detection of letters in the text.

Methodology for Imaging Documentation and Non-Destructive Investigation

The imaging documentation and non-destructive investigation of the papyrus was carried out in two phases. First, digital colour photography in the visible region of all the frames was carried out in order to document the condition of each frame and to provide appropriate reference photos (Figures 1-8). Selected areas were also recorded in detail and photographs in macro mode were acquired, in order to further enhance and record areas of interest, as it was very difficult to study the papyrus fragments as a whole, on account of their large number and small sizes. The instrumentation used in this step included a NIKON D70S of 6 MB resolution equipped with a micro NIKKOR 60 mm f/2.8D lens, tungsten lighting sources and a HOYA PL lens filter.

To improve the letters' readability and to reveal text hidden underneath and aspects that are not visible to the human eye, multispectral imaging was applied using visible and near infrared radiation. Multispectral imaging (MSI) allows the simultaneous collection of spectral and spatial information, which correspond to the reflectivity of a surface in 34 spectral bands within the range of the 420-1000nm with a 20nm step interval. These series of images—known as data cubes—can yield maximum information coming from layers at different depths, due to the penetration capability of the near infrared radiation through the superficial layers. It thus extends the text's readability.

⁵ Pöhlmann 2013 7-24, Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013 25-60.

Representative examples of images acquired at the near infrared spectrum (1000nm) in macro mode are given in Figures 9-11. It is worth noting that letters written between the lines appear more clearly and in grey tones, a fact that is due to the permeation of text through layers of papyrus and the revelation of the information underneath. This confirms the opinion expressed by Prof. Martin West that the hypothesis that the papyrus contained musical notation is very doubtful.⁶

In addition, selected areas of the papyrus were examined by false colour infrared (Figure 12). This technique provides a sharper visualization of the original material because infrared radiation is less scattered by thin cloudy layers such as consolidants, glues etc. that often cover the original surface. Furthermore, colour infrared imaging can reveal different writing media as well as differentiate the script from elements pertaining to the condition of the object, e.g. scratches, deposits etc.

The instrumentation used for both approaches, infrared and false colour imaging, included the multispectral camera Mu.S.I.S HS by Forthphotonics (now DySIS) equipped with a 1/200 Progressive Scan CCD sensor providing images of 1600×1200 pixels (8 bits, 15 fps) and 34 selectable spectral bands in the range of 370-1000 nm. The camera came with a Schneider-Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 CCTV-lens and an extension ring to capture images in macro mode. Tungsten light sources (2X500 Watt) were used both to calibrate the imaging system and to illuminate the objects.

As images are difficult to interpret by the naked eye since they contain information from different layers and/or information that corresponds to different optical behaviour in the various wavelengths, multispectral imaging was followed by image analysis techniques in order to maximize the extraction of information. In the case of the Daphne papyrus, simple techniques, like image segmentation and image subtraction and the well-known PCA analysis were applied. The resulting images showed clearly distinguishable areas of text, the layers of the papyrus were better discriminated and letters that belong to the same sheet were better grouped.

These procedures were applied to selected papyrus fragments from three frames (MPI 8517, MPI 8520, MPI 8523). The results of this preliminary study have been presented in previous papers.⁷

Professor Martin West has published in full his readings of two of them (MPI 8520 frs. 1, 3-5, 8 and MPI 8523) which were more promising, while

⁶ West 2013, 80.

⁷ Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 31-32, Alexopoulou et al. 2013, 1242-1249.

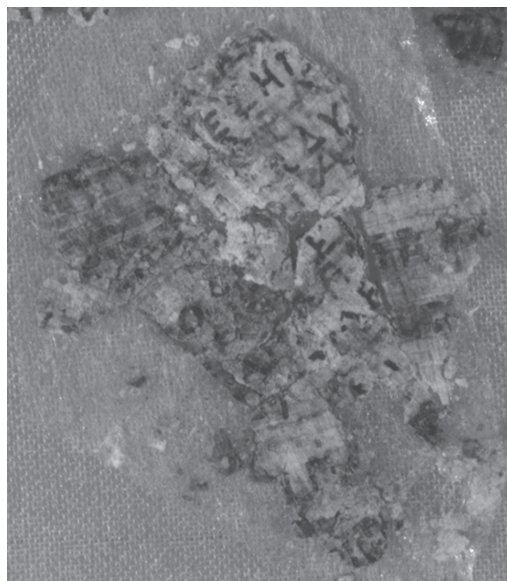


FIGURE 9 *MII 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragment consisting of several smaller pieces, in the near infrared (1000nm). Surface letters and letters revealed from underlayers are observed*

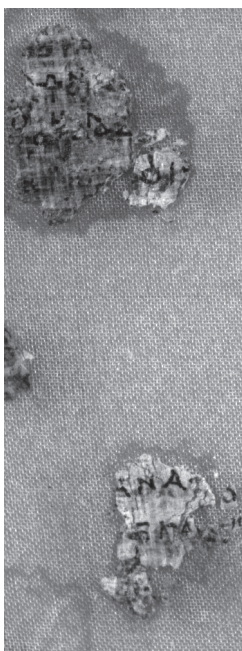


FIGURE 10 *MII 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragments, in the near infrared (1000nm)*

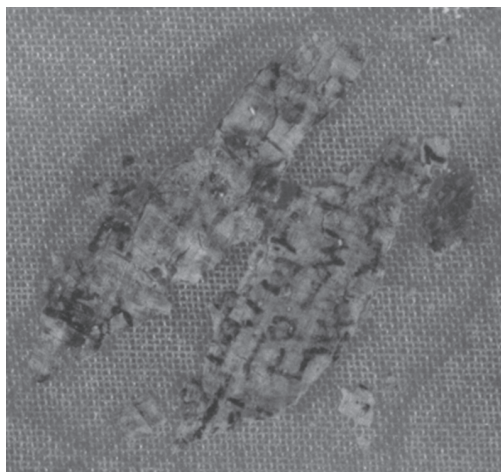


FIGURE 11 *MII 8520 (Frame 5) papyrus fragment, at near infrared 1000nm. Letters from different layers underneath are revealed due to the penetration capability of the radiation and the lack of consolidant on the piece*



FIGURE 12 *MII 8518 (Frame 3) detail in false colour infrared. Traces of many scattered letters from the papyrus mass are observed on the surface*

restricting himself to brief remarks about the others.⁸ Nevertheless in correspondence with the 26th Ephoreia in Piraeus, Prof. West mentions that he does not intend to conduct any further research on the rest of the fragments and agrees that Dr Ioanna Karamanou should try to detect more readings on them and publish her results (for which see Karamanou: Section 2, below) with the help of new photographs.

Thus, to complete the investigation regarding the papyrus an effort was made to acquire new digital photographs in macro mode in the visible spectrum, using a super high resolution camera in order to collect the maximum readable information of fragmentary remnants of words and letters on the papyrus fragments which at first, observed by naked eye, seem to be less rewarding than the readings of ΜΠ 8520 and 8523. These new results are presented below.

To maximize the visibility of the letters and the readability of the text appearing in the surface layer a newly developed digital photographic apparatus, Nikon D800, has been used. The camera employs a Nikon FX-format CMOS sensor with 36.3 effective megapixels resolution which offers the possibility of enlarging the images to the size of A1 poster prints (59.4×84.1 cm/ 23.4×33.1 in.) at 200 dpi, or of cropping aggressively to reach the desired area, all without sacrificing the detail and tonal range of the original. Nikon D800 is also equipped with an optical low-pass filter located in front of the image sensor to reduce false colour and moiré of the image and thus optimize sharpness. Moiré occurs in scenes containing repetitive details, such as strong vertical lines as in the case of the papyrus surface under investigation. Furthermore, the multi-layer structure of the D800 low-pass filter uses layers of antireflective coating that have been optimized for the camera, contributing to sharper and clearer images.

The combination of the advantages of this technology with the use of the micro NIKKOR 60 mm f/2.8D lens to acquire images in macro mode (ratio of original size to image size of the object, namely magnification, is from 1:1 (1x) to 50:1 (50x)) allowing the acquisition of images showing tiny details in even the smallest fragments. Close-up photography (magnifications from 1:10 (0,1x) to 1:1 (1x)) and photomacrography⁹ are important elements in the documentation of archaeological objects, which have been significantly improved by the advent of digital photography.

⁸ West 2013, 79-85.

⁹ 'Photomacrography' is proposed by the AIC Guide to Digital Photography and Conservation Documentation (2011) to describe the photographic procedure used to acquire images in macro mode, instead of the old term 'macrophotography'.

The fact that the papyrus fragments were glued on silk fibre was critical for acquiring sharp images despite the extremely limited depth of the field that decreases dramatically with increasing magnification. To achieve images of maximum quality it is important that the sensor plane is perfectly parallel with the subject plane and that the camera is well secured to prevent it from moving. Thus, tungsten light sources (2X250 Watt) were used for illuminating the objects as these light sources provided adequate intensity for macro mode. In order to achieve uniform illumination, prevent camera shake and keep the camera properly positioned all processes were carried out on a copy stand with the light sources mounted on either side of the objects. All necessary instrumentation was transported from the Laboratory of Physical Chemical Methods for Diagnosis and Documentation, Department for Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art, TEI of Athens and the documentation procedures were carried out *in situ* at the laboratories of the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, Greece.

Figures 13-15 present photomacrographs of selected important parts of frames 2 (MPI 8517) and 6 (MPI 8521), where the examination by naked eye suggested that letters existed on the surface of the papyrus fragments. Because of the high resolution and optical quality of the acquired photomacrographs, the enlarged details of these parts, presented in Figures 16-18, not only enhanced the detection of letters, syllables and lines containing letter-sequences on the surface but also revealed traces of letters from lower layers. Unfortunately, the consolidant, the conservator used to fix the fragments, diminished the contrast and simultaneously increased the specular reflexion on the surface, despite the effort made to achieve the optimum conditions for photography. Nowadays, modern conceptions of documentation recommend that all procedures, including imaging and analysis, are completed before any conservation and restoration is attempted, on condition that the preservation state of the object allows it. In the second part of this article Dr. I. Karamanou offers an overview of this legible material and explores the possibly literary character of this papyrus-text.

Conclusions

The high resolution and optical quality of the acquired photomacrographs enables the detection of lines containing letter-sequences and syllables on the surface and underneath, improves the readability of the text and allows further philological interpretation of the papyrus, and thus contributes to the archaeological interpretation of the others findings from the Daphne tombs.

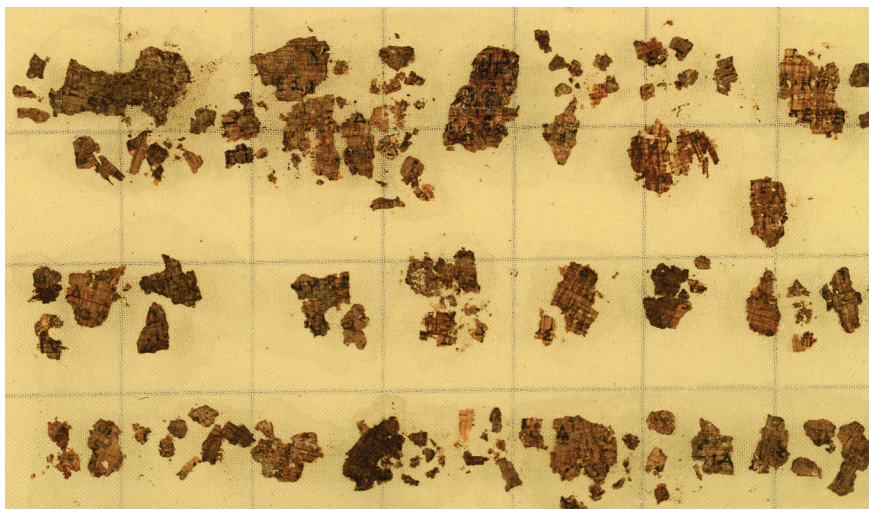


FIGURE 13 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) photomacrography of the upper left corner in the visible*

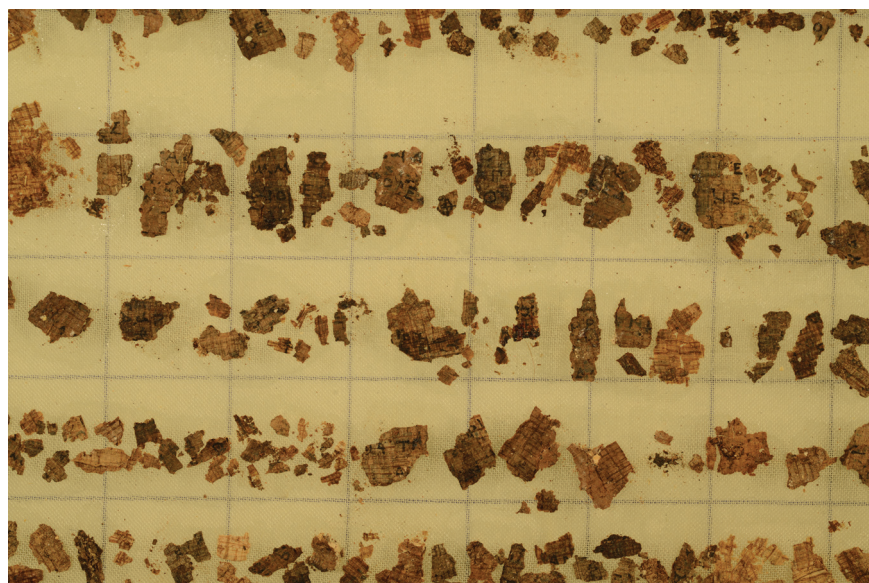


FIGURE 14 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) photomacrography of the central part in the visible*

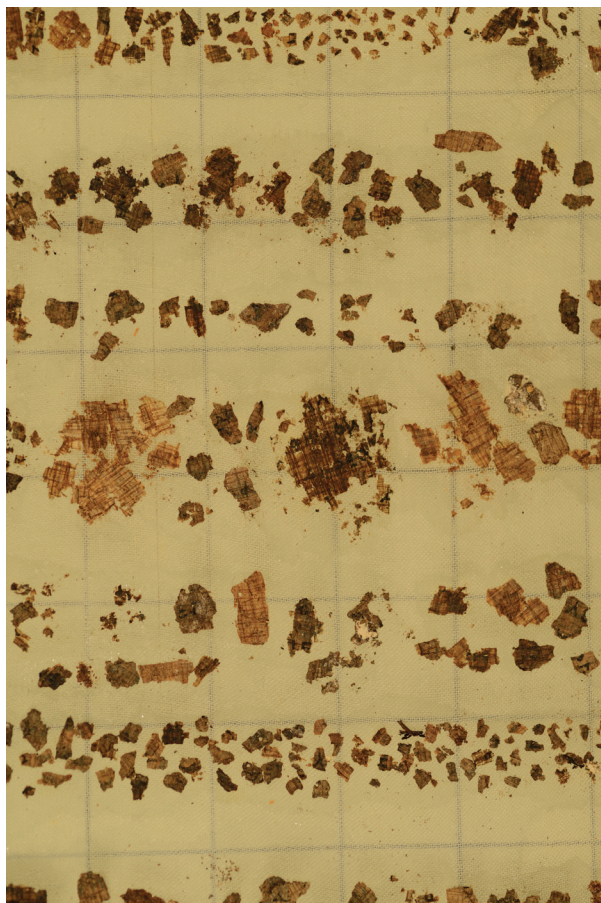


FIGURE 15 *MII 8521 (Frame 6) photomacrography of the central part in the visible*

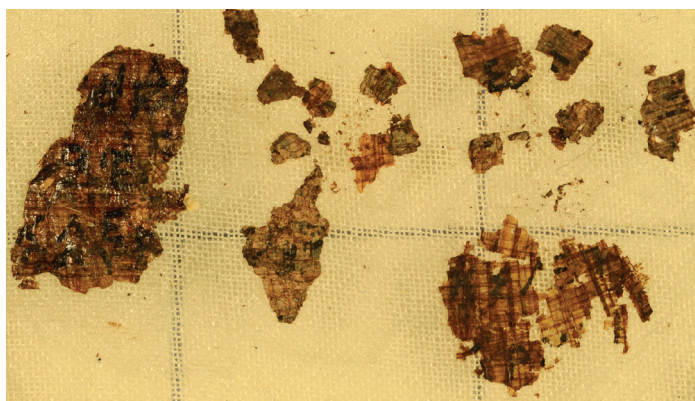


FIGURE 16 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) enlarged detail of fragments shown in Figure 13*



FIGURE 17 *MII 8517 (Frame 2) enlarged detail of fragments shown in Figure 14*

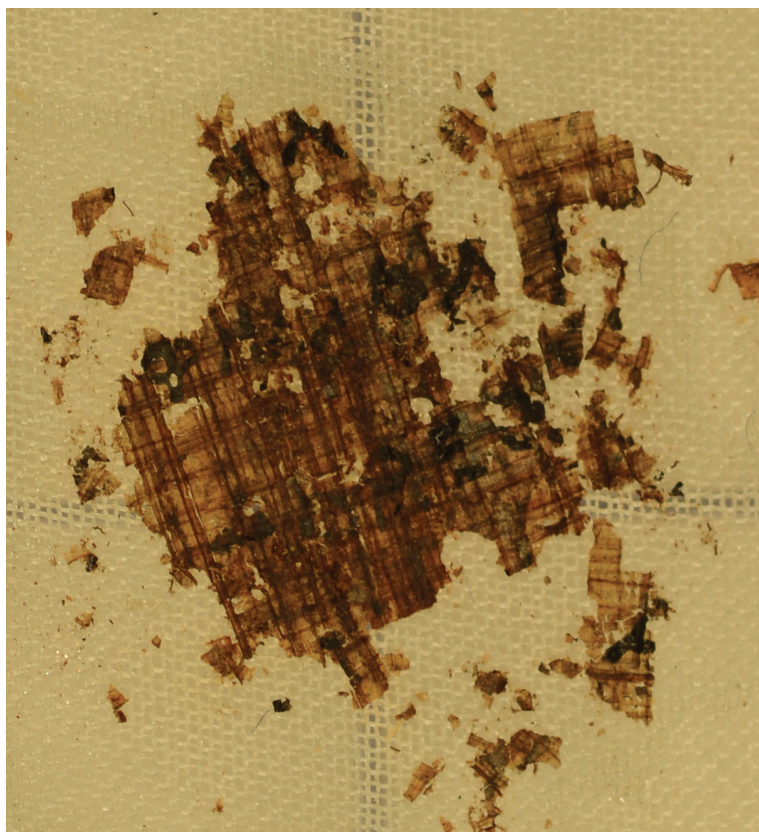


FIGURE 18 *MII 8521 (Frame 6) enlarged detail of a fragment shown in Figure 15*

Section 2. Towards an Edition of the Legible Fragments of the Earliest Greek Papyrus (MII 8517 fr. 1-4, MII 8520 fr. 2, 9-11, MII 8521 fr. 1)

Ioanna Karamanou

The papyrus-roll discovered along with five wooden writing tablets and musical instruments (fragments of a harp, of a lyre and the tube of an aulos with mouthpiece) in the so-called 'Musician's Tomb' in Daphne was evidently owned by the deceased, who was a young person in his or her early twenties.¹⁰ The tomb can plausibly be dated to 430/425 BC. This is the date of the four lekythoi found in the next tomb (Tomb I), which forms a single ensemble with the "Musician's Tomb" (Tomb II) and is consistent with the dating of the harp in 430/410 BC.¹¹

Accordingly, the Daphne papyrus-roll constitutes the earliest known Greek papyrus, dated some time earlier than 430/425 BC (considering that it was written before the young person's death.¹² Even more interestingly, the remains of its text seem to display literary features, as observed by Professor Martin West, who edited the larger papyrus fragments (frame 5=MII 8520 fr.1, 3-5, 8 and frame 8=MII 8523; see Figures 5 and 8 respectively).¹³ Professor West kindly assigned me to edit the rest of the papyrus fragments in the present study, regarding this as important for the sake of completeness in the publication of the Daphne tombs. My edition thus aims at offering an overview of the legible material and detecting more readings, which could help to explore the possibly literary character of this papyrus text.¹⁴

Upon its discovery the papyrus-roll was described as "a shapeless, flattened mass" comprising several layers pasted together, in consequence of the unfavourable conditions of high humidity in the tomb.¹⁵ Its original size is estimated to have reached 12 cm in height and 3 cm in diameter.¹⁶ The restorer Antonios Glinos detached the fragments piece by piece and attached them to

10 See Pöhlmann and West 2012, 2-3, Pöhlmann 2013, 12-14, Psaroudakēs 2013, Terzēs 2013.

11 Simon and Wehgartner 2013, 64, Pöhlmann 2013, 14, Terzēs 2013, 126.

12 Pöhlmann and West 2012, 3, 9.

13 West 2013, 81-84, Pöhlmann and West 2012, 7-9.

14 I am grateful to Professor Egert Pöhlmann and Professor Martin West for entrusting me with the Daphne papyrus-material; to Professor Athena Alexopoulou for her excellent photographs; to Assistant Professor Ioanna Spiliopoulou and Dr Dorina Moullou for valuable advice; to Dr Stella Chrysoulaki and Mrs Angeliki Poulou of the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities.

15 Modiano 1981, Pöhlmann 2013, 8-12.

16 Lawson, P., *Nat.Mus. BE* 29/1981, 17/6/1981.

silk in eight frames, without, however, always managing to preserve their original relative positions or separate the compacted layers (for its conservation see Alexopoulou in Section 1 above).¹⁷

Of the eight frames already described by Prof. West,¹⁸ frames 1 (MPI 7449, Figure 1), 4 (MPI 8519, Figure 4) and 7 (MPI 8522, Figure 7) comprise several hundreds of tiny fragments preserving one or two letters at best. MPI 8518 (frame 3, Figures 3 and 12) consists of compacted layers, in which only scattered letters may be discerned even in infrared images, making any reading of letter-sequences extremely insecure. Consequently, the fragments selected for this edition belong to frame 2 (MPI 8517, Figures 2, 13-14 and 16-17), frame 5 (MPI 8520, Figures 5 and 9-11) and frame 6 (MPI 8521, Figures 6, 15 and 18), and preserve lines containing letter-sequences of four to seven letters, which enables the reading of syllables hinting at words attested in literature before 430 BC (i.e. the approximate date of the papyrus). The tattered state of the fragments, most of which consist of compacted layers, naturally calls for due caution. Therefore, in lines preserving four or more successive letters a description of dotted letters and of letter-traces is provided, with the purpose of justifying conjectures, as far as possible. Though speculation is unfortunately inevitable, an effort is made to explore every plausible supplement and different kinds of word-division.

The writing belongs to a skilled hand and the letter-forms resemble those of contemporary inscriptions.¹⁹ The text is written in the Ionic alphabet employed frequently in Athens from mid-fifth century BC onwards.²⁰

Frame 2=MPI 8517 (Figures 2, 13-14 and 16-17)

About four hundred small fragments are arranged in eight rows. Those selected for edition are numbered from 1 to 6 starting from the upper row. The writing in the fragments of frames 2 and 6 is to a good extent visible by means of digital photographs in macro mode in the visible spectrum, for which see Alexopoulou in Section 1 above.

Fr. 1 (Figure 16), situated in the first row and towards the left of the frame. It comprises three layers, of which only two provide legible letter-sequences in paired lines.

17 Pöhlmann 2013, 11, Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 29-30.

18 West 2013, 79-80, Pöhlmann and West 2012, 6.

19 Pöhlmann-West 2012, 6-7, West 2013, 80.

20 West 2013, 76, 80, Threatte 1980, I 27-34.

A: Lower layer

]ογ [
]. δε .[
]. οφυδ[

- 1 [: trace of an ascending oblique.
- 2]. : unidentifiable traces of ink. .[: trace of a vertical.
- 3]. : faint trace of a stroke sloping to the left: Λ, Α, Δ or Μ. δ[: an ascending oblique joined to a low horizontal, as in Δ.

In l. 3 the rare combination of letters]οφυδ[could be suggestive of the Homeric word δ[λ]οφυδ[νός ('lamenting': *Il.* 5.683, 23.102, *Od.* 19.362). The traces of the letter preceding Ο are consistent with Λ.

B: Upper layer

]νδϱ[
]. ογ .[
]κλεϱ[

- 1]. : a high trace of ink. ϱ[: an ascending oblique; due to the preceding letters, Α is likelier than Λ or Δ.
- 2]. : traces of a vertical. γ: a vertical joined to a descending oblique, as in Ν. .[: high traces of ink.
- 3 ϱ[: an ascending oblique joined in the middle to a horizontal.

The letter-sequence in l. 3 may hint at the word κλέϱ ('fame': *Il.* 9.189, 9.524, *Od.* 8.73) and its compounds, which occur mainly in poetry by that time: e.g. εὐ]κλέϱ ('famous': *Pi. O.* 2.90, *P.* 8.62, *S. OT* 161), δυκ]κλέϱ ('infamous': *Il.* 2.115), ἀ]κλέϱ ('inglorious': *Od.* 4.728), ἄγα]κλέϱ ('very glorious': *Pi. I.* 1.34). Alternatively, it might belong to a proper name ending in -κλεα, e.g. Ἡρα]κλέϱ ([*Hes.*] *Sc.* 448, 458, *Pi. O.* 10.16). Likewise, Prof. West reads κλέϱος or perhaps Ἡρα]κλέϱος in one of the writing tablets, which may be interestingly associated with the famous fr. 264 M.-W. spoken by Heracles in the Hesiodic *Wedding of Keyx* and apparently alluded to in the previous line of the same writing tablet.²¹ Other proper names may include Ἴφι]κλέϱ (*Pi. P.* 9.88), Ἑτεο]κλέϱ (*S. Ant.* 23), Ἴππο]κλέϱ

²¹ See tablet A2.3 in West 2013, 77.

(Pi. P. 10.5, 10.57) or a name ending in -κλε, e.g. Πάτρο]κλε εϛ[. Such names could point to a poetic theme.

Fr. 2 (Figure 16), situated in the first row to the right of fr. 1.

]ηcαετ[
]αρμαη.[

1 τ[: the left part of a high horizontal joined to a vertical; E cannot be excluded.

2]α : traces of an ascending and a descending oblique; due to the next letters, A is likelier than Δ or Λ. α: high trace of an ascending oblique; A likelier than Δ or Λ owing to the preceding letters. η : a left-hand upright joined in the middle to a horizontal; E cannot be excluded. .[: after the break unclear traces of ink.

In l. 2 the word-division should reasonably be]αρμα η.[. One might thus read ἄρμα ('chariot') or χ]ἄρμα ('joy').

Fr. 3 (Figure 17), located at the centre of the fifth row. It is torn in the middle, consisting of two pieces plausibly brought together by Glinos.

]εμμο . ε[
]ηνορεc .[
]oc . .[

1]ε : a high horizontal and faint traces of a middle and a low one. ο : after the break a low trace of a rounded letter; owing to the preceding letters O is likelier than Θ. . : traces of a left-hand upright and faint traces of a high loop; perhaps P? ε[: traces of an upright joined to the right with a high and a low horizontal, as in E.

2 ρ : a left-hand upright joined to a high loop, traces of which are preserved after the break. .[: a low dot of ink.

3 . : trace of a high horizontal apparently joined to an upright after the break: Π or T? .[: a high trace of ink.

In l. 1 the combination of letters might hint at a word such as ἔμμορε (perfect tense of μείρομαι: 'to obtain one's due share'). This form is poetic and mainly epic (*Il.* 1.278, *Od.* 11.338, *Hes. Th.* 414, *Op.* 347).

If the letter-sequence in l. 2 belongs to one word, it may well provide the second component -ηνορεc of ἀγ]ήνορεc ('courageous', 'arrogant': *Il.* 10.299,

Od. 2.235, *Hes. Th.* 237, *Op.* 7, *A. Th.* 124), φθικ]ήνορεc ('killing men': *Il.* 2.833, *Hes. Th.* 431), ῥηξ]ήνορεc ('breaking through armed ranks', an epithet of Achilles: *Il.* 7.228, *Od.* 4.5, *Hes. Th.* 1007), εὐ]ήνορεc ('glorious': *Od.* 4.622, 13.19) or ὀλεc]ήνορεc ('man-destroying': *Thgn.* 399). These epithets are poetic *par excellence* and mostly epic. Moreover, the reading -ηνορεc could be the sign of dactylic rhythm. Cf. West 2013, 81-82 for another possible instance of dactylic rhythm in ΜΠ 8520, fr. 4.6. The possibility of another word-division cannot be excluded, e.g.]ην ορεc.[and the second word might have been the common plural dative ὄρεcι (of ὄρος 'mountain') or the beginning of words such as ὄρεcι[τροφοc ('mountain-bred': *Il.* 12.299, *Od.* 9.292), ὄρεcχ[ῶοc ('lying on mountains': *Il.* 1.268, *Hes.* fr. 209.5 M.-W.), ὄρεcε[ινόμοc ('mountain-ranging': [*Hes.*] *Sc.* 407), ὄρεcε[εροc ('mountain-dwelling': *Il.* 22.93, *Od.* 10.212), ὄρεcε[ι/-φε[ιν (epic genitive and dative singular and plural of ὄρος: *Il.* 4.452, 22.139). Even in this case, the possible supplements are to a degree suggestive of poetic vocabulary.

Fr. 4 (Figure 17), located next to fr. 3. I disregard interlinear letters belonging to another layer.

]α.[
]. . φορεδ[
]. .[

1 .[: unclear traces of ink.

2]. . : shades of overlapping letters from several layers. δ[: left angle of Δ or lower angle of C.

3]. .[: high traces of ink.

The word-division in l. 2 should reasonably be]φορε δ[. A possible reading could involve the vocative -φόρε of a compound adjective in -φόροc. The following epithets in -φόροc are attested in the vocative: βουληφόρε ('counseling': *Il.* 5.180, 20.83, *Hes.* fr. 280.26 M.-W.) and Θεcμοφόρε ('law-giving', an epithet of Demeter: *Pi.* fr. 37.1 Sn.-M.).²² Other possibilities might include the vocative of ἀθλοφόροc or ἀεθλοφόροc ('victorious': *Il.* 9.124, *Hes.* fr. 23a.39 M.-W., *Pi. O.* 7.7, *Hdt.* 1.31.7), πυροφόροc ('wheat-bearing': *Il.* 21.602, *Hes. Op.* 549), τελεcφόροc ('bringing fulfillment': *Od.* 4.86, *Hes. Th.* 740, *S. Aj.* 1390), τοξοφόροc ('bow-bearing': *Il.* 21.483, *Pi. O.* 6.59, *Hdt.* 1.103.5), ἀcπιδηφόροc ('shield-bearing': *A. Th.* 19, *Ag.* 825), καρποφόροc ('fruit-bearing': *Pi. P.* 4.6, *Hdt.* 1.193.25). All these adjectives occur mostly in poetry in this period, with the exception of a few instances provided by Herodotus.

²² Cf. λεωφόρε attached to a prostitute by Anacreon (*PMG* 346 fr. 1.13).

Frame 5=MΠ 8520 (Figures 5, 9-11)

It comprises 44 fragments, of which Prof. West edited fr. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 8. They are numbered from the left of the frame to the right. The writing is visible only in infrared photographs taken by Athena Alexopoulou in July 2012.²³

Fr. 2 (Figure 9), situated at the left of the frame between fr. 1 and 5 West. As with fr. 1 of this frame and MΠ 8523 of frame 8,²⁴ it has writing belonging to several layers providing lines overlapping and out of alignment. Five layers provide legible letter-sequences. The two upper layers (A-B) are evidently preserved at the left side of the fragment, whereas the lower layers seem to be located at its right side along with a smaller piece attached to it (C-E).

A: Top Layer.²⁵ I disregard traces of interlinear letters from a lower layer.

]οπρ.[
].κϱ.[

B: Second Layer.²⁶ I disregard traces of interlinear letters.

] . οθ . [
]. απ . [
]

C: Third Layer.²⁷ Layers C and D are combined giving paired lines.

]μεσηγ[
]ωρωδυ.[
] . ετ[
]με[

1]μ : a right-hand upright joined to an oblique; possibly the right-hand leg of M. γ[: a left-hand upright and faint traces of a descending oblique joined to it.

2]ω : faint traces of a rounded letter joined to a low left-hand horizontal.
ρ : high traces of a loop possibly joined to a left-hand upright, as in P. .[: a high trace of ink

²³ Alexopoulou and Kaminari 2013, 31-32.

²⁴ West 2013, 81, 83-84.

²⁵ Upper left quadrant.

²⁶ Lower left quadrant.

²⁷ At the right half of the fragment overlapping layer D.

3] . : unclear traces of ink. τ[: an upright joined to a high horizontal; Π cannot be excluded.

In l. 2 a possible word-division could be]ωρ ωδν.[hinting at a proper name or adjective ending in -ωρ and followed by a verb beginning with ωδν.[, e.g. ὠδύρ[ετο ('to lament': *Il.* 24.166) or the epic ὠδύc[ατο ('to hate': *Il.* 18.292, *Od.* 1.62, *Hes. Th.* 617).

D: Fourth Layer.

] . . ωμ[
]χλξω[
]αργαλ[
]χπ .[
] . .[

1] . . : unclear traces of ink.

2]χ : a vertical joined to an ascending oblique at middle height, as in K. ξ : traces of a left-hand vertical joined to a middle and a low horizontal, as in E.

3]α : an ascending oblique; due to the next letters, Α is likelier than Λ or Δ. λ[: an ascending oblique and traces of a descending one with a serif at its top, as in Λ.

4]χ : a vertical joined to a descending oblique at middle height, as in K. .[: the left part of a rounded letter; Ο likelier than Θ, owing to the preceding letter.

5] . . .[: unclear traces of ink.

In l. 2 one may recognize an adverb such as εὖ]χλξῶ[c or ἄ]χλξῶ[c perhaps recurring in one of the writing-tablets read by Prof. West,²⁸ or alternatively the adjective εὖ]χλξέω[v (as εὐχλέων ἔργων in *Pi. I.* 3/4.7, 3/4.41); a possible reference to κλέος or its compounds could also occur above in ΜΠ 8517, fr. 1B.3. The letter-sequence in l. 3 is suggestive of the poetic word ἀργαλ[έος ('painful', 'troublesome'); see *Il.* 1.589, *Od.* 11.101, *Hes. Th.* 718, *Op.* 66, *Sol.* fr. 13.61 W., *Thgn.* 832, *Mimn.* fr. 9.4 W.

²⁸ Tablet A2.3: West 2013, 77.

E: Fifth Layer:²⁹ Evidently located between C and D.

]α.[
]. πϣ.[
]. .[

Fr. 9 (Figure 10), situated in the upper middle of the frame to the right of fr. 8 West. I disregard the faint traces of ink from a lower layer overlapped by this fragment.

]αναζ[
]. εγαυ.[
]. .[

1 ζ[: a low and high horizontal joined to a middle vertical; compare the form of Z in fr. 1.6 of the same frame (West 2013, 81 and plate II 7a) and the letter-forms in West 2013, 80, fig. 2.

2]. : trace of an upright. α : probably the triangle of A; too small for Δ. ϣ : trace of a left descending oblique, as in Y. .[: unclear trace of ink.

3]. .[: unclear traces of ink.

In l. 1 a probable word-division could be]ανὰ ζ[. Alternatively, one cannot exclude a form of ἀναζέω ('to boil up': [A.] *PV* 370) or ἀναξεύγνυμι ('to yoke again': Hdt. 8.60.8, 9.58.16). A different word-division such as]αν αζ[may involve a form of ἄζω ('to dry up': Hes. *Op.* 587, [Hes.] *Scut.* 397) and its derivatives, e.g. ἄζα ('mould': *Od.* 22.184) and ἀζαλέος ('dry': *Il.* 20.491, *Od.* 9.234, Hes. fr. 266a.10 M.-W.);]αζα occurs also in MΠ 8520 fr. 1.6 and 3.8 West.³⁰ Other possible readings may include a form of ἄζομαι ('to stand in awe of': *Il.* 5.434, *Od.* 9.478, Hes. *Th.* 532, A. *Supp.* 884), ἀζηγήc ('unceasing': *Il.* 15.25, *Od.* 18.3) or ἄζηλος ('unenviable': Semon. fr. 1.11 W., Hdt. 7.140.9, A. *Ch.* 1017).

In l. 2 if the letter-sequence].εγαυ.[is taken to belong to one word, it might be tempting to read the epic form ἐκ]γεγαυ[α ('born of'), which is attached to Helen (*Il.* 3.199, 3.418, *Od.* 4.184), Athena (*Od.* 6.229), the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 76) and Dike (Hes. *Op.* 256) as daughters of Zeus. Another reading may be the poetic form μ.εγαυχ[ήc ('boasting': Pi. *N.* 11.21, A. *Pers.* 642). Different word-divisions

²⁹ Lower right quadrant.

³⁰ West 2013, 81.

could either produce]ε γαυ.[perhaps involving a form of the epithet γαῦρος ('haughty': Archil. fr. 114.2 W.) or simply]μέγα ψ.[.

Fr. 10 Figure 10), situated in the middle of the frame and comprising at least three layers, two of which provide legible text in paired lines.

A: Lower layer. The smaller piece attached to the lower right side by Glinos (end of l. 4) seems to belong to this layer. It overlaps an even lower one, whose text is not legible.

]φρα[
]. χτοικ .[
]. οχλος[
]χη φ^ι [

1]φ : a wide loop, as in Φ.

2]. : a low trace of ink. χ: an angle of two obliques, as in K; too wide for the lower angle of Σ. .[: an upright.

3]. : a high trace of ink. χ : an upright overlapping traces of ink from a lower layer and joined to an ascending oblique at middle height, as in K.

4 η : faint traces of two verticals joined to a middle horizontal. . . . : faint traces of ink. .[: trace of a high horizontal.

In l. 1 one might detect a form of φράζω or the Ionic poetic conjunction ὄ] φρα. The latter would be a sign of poetic diction consistent with the traces of Ionic dialect noted by Prof. West in MΠ 8520 fr. 3.6 (lower layer: κ]ωψχέτ!) and perhaps in B2.4 of the writing tablets (ωύ[τόc).³¹ See also below, MΠ 8521 fr. 1.3.

If K is rightly read in l. 3, the letter-sequence]οχλος[might provide the ending of a proper name. An obvious candidate could be Πάτ]ροχλος or even "Ιπ]ποχλος mentioned in Hes. fr. 70.33 M.-W. and 'Ετ]έοχλος first attested in the same Hesiodic context (fr. 70.34 M.-W). Such references would be suggestive of a poetic theme.

B: Upper layer

] . .[
]λων . [
]ο . η . ν .[
] . . ρ . . .[

³¹ West 2013, 78-79, 81.

Fr. 11 (fig.11): situated at the lower right side of the frame. Two layers are visible, giving paired lines. The upper layer is preserved only in the left half of the fragment with the exception of l. 1 also extending towards the right.

A: Lower Layer.

]. πιβ[.] ..[
] βιεμν .[
]φε...[
]..[.]β..[

1] : a low trace of ink. [.] .. [: after the break unclear traces of ink.

2] : a low trace of ink. β : traces of two loops joined vertically, as in B.

μ: a left-hand upright and a right-hand one after the break; Π cannot be excluded. . : a possible upright joined to a high horizontal.

3 ξ : an upright joined to a low and high horizontal...[: high traces of a letter mostly lost in the break and unclear traces from the two next letters.

4]. . [.] : unclear traces of ink and at least one letter lost in the break.

β : part of a low loop probably joined to an upper one ... [: unclear traces of ink.

The letters in l. 1 could be read either as ἐπι β[or as ἐπιβ[(e.g. a form of ἐπιβαίνω, ἐπιβάλλω, ἐπιβουλεύω, ἐπιβρέμω etc).

In l. 2 one may be tempted to read δ]λβιε employed in invocations in *Od.* 24.36, 24.192, Hes. fr. 211.7 M.-W., *Sapph.* fr. 112.1 L.-P., *A. Supp.* 526 or the vocative Τολθ]ύβιε of the name of the Iliadic herald. A vocative seems to occur also in ΜΠ 8517 fr. 4.2 above.

B: Upper Layer.

]εϙ[]οτ[
]ϙοϙ.[
]υϙτ[
]..[

Frame 6=MII 8521 (Figures 6, 15, 18)

About seven hundred mostly tiny fragments are arranged in nine rows. Only in fr. 1 can more than three letters in a line be read.

Fr. 1 (Figure 18), situated on the fifth row at the right of the frame. I disregard the faint traces of text from a lower layer.

]ηλ[
].φηπολξ.[
]ιδηρεος[
].[

1 λ[: an ascending oblique and a descending one extending upwards; X cannot be excluded.

2]. : a low trace of ink. π : a right-hand upright, traces of a left-hand one and faint traces of a high crossbar, as in Π. ξ : after the break a left-hand upright joined to a high horizontal and traces of a middle crossbar, as in Ε. .[: high traces of ink.

3 ς[: probably the upper angle of C, the rest of which is lost in the break.

4].[: an upright.

In l. 2 the word-division should reasonably be:].φη πολξ.[. Various possibilities arise; e.g.]ξφη, πορς]έφη, νύ]μφη, πόλεμ[ον, πόλεξ[or the like. The letter-sequence in l. 3 is suggestive of ς]ιδηρεος ('made of iron'), which is an Ionic and epic type distinguished from the contracted Attic type ςιδηροϋς (see *LSJ*⁹): *Il.* 5.723, 22.357, *Od.* 1.204, *Hes. Th.* 764, *Op.* 176, *Hdt.* 1.38.4, 4.62.10.

Conclusion

This edition of the smaller papyrus-fragments from the Daphne tomb has indicated that certain letter-sequences seem to hint at poetic and mainly epic words, the most suggestive of which would be δ]λοφνδ[νός (ΜΠ 8517, fr.1A.3), ξμμορξ (fr.3.1),]ηνορες (fr.3.2), ἄργαλ[έος (ΜΠ 8520 fr.2D.3) and the possible references to κλέος or its compounds (ΜΠ 8517 fr.1B.3, ΜΠ 8520 fr.2D.2). These traces of poetic diction are congruent with those noted in Prof. West's edition of the larger fragments and, if assessed in combination, they point even more to the possibility that the text was poetic in character. I believe that such a possibility would be significantly enhanced by the fact that Greek literary production up to 430 BC was mainly poetic, with the exception of Herodotus, the Ionian logographers and certain Presocratic philosophers.³² Accordingly, the traditional Athenian literary education of that period was based on Homer and the lyrics.³³ All these factors in conjunction with the artistic activity indicated

32 See, for instance, Goldhill 2002, esp. 1-9.

33 Beck 1964, 117-22, Carr 2005, ch.5, Marrou 1948, 75-76.

by the deceased's musical instruments make it likelier that the text (or at least part of it) was written in poetry rather than prose. Moreover, Ionic forms such as $\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ (ΜΠ 8521 fr.1.3) could be added to the Ionicisms observed by Prof. West and point to the possible use of Ionic dialect. Due to space-limits, an overall interpretation and an attempt of contextualizing the written texts of the Daphne tomb will follow in a future publication. For the time being, I shall confine myself to the observation that the possible readings provided in these fragments are consistent with and supplement those of the fragments edited by Prof. West, reinforcing the likelihood that poetic diction was employed in the oldest known Greek papyrus-text.

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Iconographical Representations of Musical Instruments in Apulian Vase-Painting as Ethnical Signs: Intercultural Greek-Indigenous Relations in Magna Graecia (5th and 4th Centuries B.C.)

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Abstract

The paper deals with the representation of musical instruments on Apulian pottery. I shall sketch a general account of the red-figured pottery produced in Apulia and its development between the late fifth and the early third centuries, discussing the iconographical trends in its different phases. Secondly, I shall offer a brief survey of the musical instruments: the instruments belonging to Greek tradition (*lyra*, *kithara*, *aulos*) as well as those belonging to local tradition (rectangular cithara, rectangular sistrum), and those that result from local developments of instruments received from the Greek continental tradition (*tympanon*, *pektis*). Morphological and contextual analysis of the representation of such instruments will allow us to sustain our inferences about the intercultural processes of hybridization between local, Greek and oriental organological traditions, pointing to a scenario of multiple and negotiated identities in the colonial world of Magna Graecia.

Keywords

Magna Graecia – Apulia – music – iconography – pottery – identity

• • •

(...) the commerce of things puts in contact also the ideas, and makes
men circulate

GUZZO 2008, 43

• •
•

Introduction

The goal of this paper is to analyze the iconography of Apulian red-figured vases, particularly scenes representing musical instruments, produced between the last third of the fifth century, when the red-figure vase-painting technique was introduced in southern Italy (about 440 B.C.), and the first third of the third century (about 270 B.C.), when the production of Apulian painted pottery ceased, because of the decline of Taras. These scenes are either mythological or representations of daily life, or in some cases a mixture of the two. The instruments in this study include percussion (*tympanon* and the so called Apulian sistrum) and string (*lyra*, cithara and harp).

The study of Apulian iconography, which corresponds to more than ten thousand conserved vases, makes it possible to assemble a very rich body of empirical material to draw on when raising questions about the interpretation of Magna Graecia's culture. The musical instruments are represented in a large number of Apulian vases (ca. 10%), which enables a systematic analysis, aimed at verifying ethnic elements present in the iconographical representations, and allows us to reflect on the multiple influences that shaped the regional culture, marked by a miscegenation between Greeks and natives, and by the birth of a new culture.¹

¹ Our study is influenced by the postcolonial debate about cultural relations between colonizers and colonized, replacing the paradigm of Hellenization with the paradigms of 'transculturation' (Ortiz 1968), and, more recently, 'hybridization', as proposed by Bhabha 1993, 212 as a strategy of discursive negotiation, which seems to offer an important alternative interpretation of the colonial intercultural process. In agreement with Hall and Gay 1996, we consider the Apulian cultural identity as multiple and heterogeneous, and even controversial. The theoretical horizon of 'transculturation' points towards the abandonment of the one-way perspective of 'acculturation', present in the concepts of Hellenization and Romanization, as criticized in Lepore 2000 and Hingley 1996.

The Apulian Pottery: Origin, Themes, Chronology, Styles

From the archaic period onwards, there were workshops in the Italian Peninsula dedicated to the black-figure vase-painting technique, under the influence of Euboea, Corinth and Athens. However, the use of red figures, a technique invented in Athens about 525 B.C., was delayed by almost a century, due to its technical difficulties. Its introduction may be linked—according to a theory proposed by Adolf Furtwängler in 1893 and accepted by Schmidt 1996—to the foundation in the Taranto Gulf of the pan-Hellenic colony Thourioi, under the initiative of Pericles. Attic artisans may have migrated there, fleeing from the instability of the Peloponnesian War (Furtwängler 1893, 150. Schmidt 1996, 244-45).² In the first decades (440-400 B.C.), the technique had spread along the Greek colonial cities of the Ionic shore, principally Metapontum, and soon developed into Lucanian pottery. In Apulia, the red figure technique established itself rapidly, and as soon as in 440-30, the so-called Early Apulian began in Taras. In the first phase of Italiot production (Early Apulian I), until around 400, it was difficult to distinguish between Attic and local painting (Boardman 2001, 112).

There are today more than 20 thousand well preserved red-figured vases produced in Magna Graecia and Sicily, corresponding to about one and a half century's activity from approximately 440-30 to 270-60 B.C. The majority of these vases are Apulian (about 10,000), providing goods to the region and replacing Attic imports, followed by Campanian vases (4,000) and others, e.g. Lucanian and Paestan (Boardman 2001, 110. Dias 2009, 53). Apulian pottery presents its singularity from the start: the taste for multiple subsidiary ornaments, the fine floral fantasies, leaves and garlands (Boardman 2001, 113) and, furthermore, plastic ornaments, for instance the rococo of some *nestorides* and krater handles, mainly the so-called *cratere a mascheroni* (De Juliis 1996, 266-68).

The contents of the prevailing scenes are mythical and mystical, merging Dionysiac, Orphic and funerary meanings in an original way, with an unexpected effeminate Eros taking part in the Dionysiac *thiasos*, and linked with Eleusinian beliefs (Schmidt 1987). The funerary scenes use original models with the representation of the dead inside a *naiskos*, as a house in the realm of Hades. Traditional Greek mythological scenes receive a very detailed treatment (Sarian 1987). Banquet scenes oscillating between the Dionysiac and the everyday life are occasionally depicted, as well as love and domestic scenes, highlighting the female figure. Music and musical instruments are present in the iconographical representations of all these categories of scenes.

2 Recently, Denoyelle and Iozzo, 2009, 98-99 rejected this theory, considering the lack of archaeological evidence for the production of red-figure vases in Thourioi.

The frequency and approach of the different themes vary significantly during the history of the Apulian red-figured vases. The proto-Apulian style in the last third of the fifth century remains faithful to original Attic prototypes and the assimilation of Hellenized iconographical subjects. Gradually, the local culture and traditions imposed themselves, mainly about the mid-fourth century, as happened also in other Italiot ceramics industries (Dias 2009, 60).

The Musical Instruments Represented in Apulian Pottery

The musical instruments represented in Apulian iconography include both traditional Greek instruments, imported from mainland Greece, whose morphology we know very well from Attic iconography (string instruments: *lyra*, *kithara*, *barbitos* and harp; wind instruments: *aulos*, *salpinx* and *syrix*; percussion instruments: *tympanon*), and regional south Italian instruments (Di Giulio 1988, 119). The regional singularities consist in the existence of special types of instruments (like the *sistrum*) and organological variations (as the *tympanon* and *cithara*).

The *tympana* represented in Apulian pottery (Figure 1a) were much more elaborate than the drums pictured in Attic pots (Figure 1b), being almost a new instrument: the membranes were ornate with concentric geometric or floral motives and dots; decorative ribbons hang from the drum; sometimes they seem to have small rattles; their size varied from very small to very large, on average reaching 60 cm diameter. According to Di Giulio 1991, 6 the Apulian drum's originality "demonstrates a level of cultural independence of the indigenous population."

Another Apulian organological variation is the rectangular *cithara* (Figure 2a), very different from the typical trapezoidal *kithara* depicted in Attic iconography and employed in concert music (Figure 2b). Later in the Greek-Roman world this instrument became common, with many morphological variations, and may be identified as the *nablas* (Lat. *nabilium* or *nablium*), whose origin in South Italy may result from ancient contacts with cultures arising from the East, such as the Phoenicians and Carthaginians.³

3 The name *nablas* derives from the Greek word to identify a Hebrew form of the harp with a similar shape. Related words existed also in Aramaic and ancient Hebrew. This prototype of string instrument could have its origin, among the Greeks, in Poseidonia, Magna Graecia (Ath. 4.175. Strab. 1.471), where the instrument may have been introduced through contact with an organological tradition arising from the Middle East. According to Du Cange 1757, 615 (*nablisare*): *Nabilium erat Phoenicium organum lirae vel citharae simile*. Cf. J. AJ 7: 'Some musical instruments have barbarian names, as the *nablas* and the *sambuka*, the *barbitos*, the *magadis* and many others'.

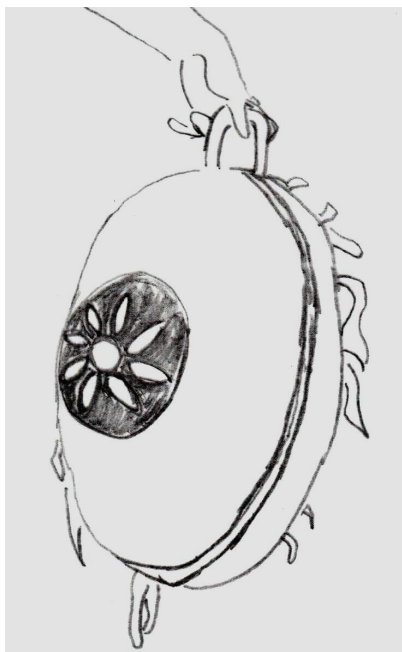


FIGURE 1A *An Apulian tympanon.*
Bell-krater. Middle Apulian.
Painter of Genova 2754 (RVAp. I.9/38, pr. 72.1-2).
Genova, 2753.
Ca. 375-350 B.C.



FIGURE 1B *An Attic tympanon.*
Oinokhoe (khous). Attic. Red figure.
Athens, National Museum, inv. 1222.
Last quarter of the fifth century.
Ref.: DEUBNER, 1959, p. 244, note 3, pr. 31.3.

Some morphological differences are the straight arms and the flat harmonic bar in the place of the pentagonal sounding board typical of the *kithara*.

The third case is the so-called 'Apulian sistrum'. There is no trace of this instrument in any source from mainland Greece, written, iconographical or archaeological (Figure 3). It was a percussion instrument shaped by two bars connected by a varied number of crossbars, with small bells and rattles on the ends that sounded when shaken. We cannot be sure of its name, although some authors have tended to identify it as the *platage* mentioned by Archytas of Taras (Smith 1976, 137). Some archaeologists preferred to name it as a xylophone (Trendall 1982; 1978), apparently on account of its ladder-like form; others named it 'Apulian sistrum', by analogy with the Egyptian instrument of Hathor and Isis, and adopted the supposition that it had an Apulian origin because of its frequency in images on Apulian pottery. Recent studies based in South Italian archaeological findings and in similar Mesopotamian iconographical testimonies indicate, however, that it was probably known for a few centuries in Sicily and South Italy thanks to the exchange of oriental merchandises, probably with the Phoenicians (Bellia 2011). Bellia argues that we should therefore name it rectangular sistrum and not 'Apulian sistrum', which weakens the theories that link its origin to Isis (Di Giulio 1988, 116-17) or Aphrodite (Smith 1976, 137).

Another singularity may be observed in the representation of the harps, since the most common is the *pektis* (Figure 4a), less usual in the Attic iconography, where the most frequent is the *trigonon* (Figure 4b), again suggesting a direct influence from the Orient.⁴

4 In the case of the harps, there remain still many doubts about the correspondence between the harp-names known through the literary sources and the harp-shapes known through the visual evidences. Maas and Snyder 1989, 147 following Wegner 1949, 47-50 classify and identify the iconographical representation of the harps accordingly to their shape. Basically, they identify open and closed structures. The opened structure is named 'angle harp'; the closed one, 'frame harp'. The iconography reveals two types of 'frame harps', that "would have been the ones for which the name *trigonon* ('triangle') would have been most appropriate" (Maas and Snyder, 1989, 151). However, Paquette 1984, 190 contended that the 'angle harp' (which he prefers to classify as 'la harpe en étrier', respecting Wegner's classification) should be identified as the *sambuke* mentioned in Arist. *Pol.* 8.6.7. I consider it more appropriate to identify the 'angle-harp' as the *pektis*, since its iconographical representation is consistent with some musical features ascribed to this instrument in literary sources, as described in Maas and Snyder 1989, 148-49 as being 'poly-harmonic' ("capable of being tuned according to many *harmoniai*"), using the tuning in octaves, and named as *dikhordos* ('two-stringed'). The harp of the Naples pelike analyzed below seems to correspond to these descriptions.

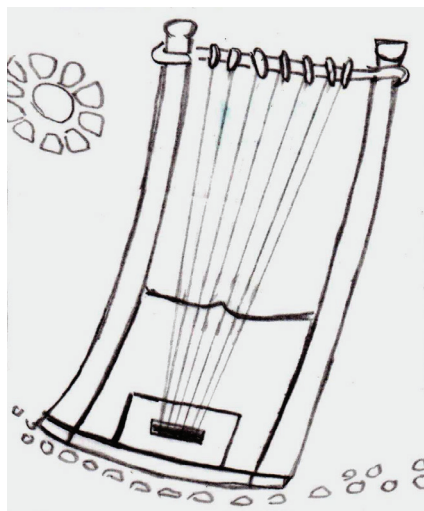


FIGURE 2A *An Apulian rectangular cithara.*

Skyphos. Late Apulian.

'di Gnathia' Style.

Bari, Museo Archeologico di Bari.

End of the fourth century.

Ref.: De Juliis, 1996, n. 247.



FIGURE 2B *The kithara, named Asia.*

Amphora. Attic. Red figure.

The Berlin Painter (ARV² 197/3).

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 56.171.38 (Fletcher Fund).

About 490 B.C.



FIGURE 3 *Woman playing rectangular sistrum.*
Lekythos. Middle Apulian.
Plain Style. Beginning of Baroque Style.
Group of Ruvo 425 (RVAp I.15/44a).
Essen, Folkwang Museum, 74.158 A 3.
Mid-fourth century.



FIGURE 4A *A woman, in a love scene, plays a pektis with swan-shaped ornaments.*
Pelike. Late Apulian.
Circle of the Darius Painter and Underworld Painters (A) Larger vases. Vases closely
associated with the Underworld Painter. The Tarrytown Group (RVAp II.18/357, pr. 205-5-6).
Naples, private collection, 23.
Ca. 330-20 B.C.



FIGURE 4B *Woman plays the trigonon.*
Nuptial lebes. Attic. Red figure.
The Bath Painter (ARV² n26/6).
New York, Metropolitan Museum, 16.73.
Ca. 430-20 B. C.

In that case, underlying the difference from the Attic tradition, a near-eastern organological tradition, conserved in long-term cultural memory (Assmann 2008, 17-50), must have been received and recreated locally: notice, for instance, the inclusion of animal-shaped ornaments on some parts of the instrument (Duchesne-Guillemin 1984, 129-142), as in the swan-shaped details seen on the Apulian harps (Figure 4a).

Regarding musical aspects, the innovations appreciated by the Apulians in the instruments' morphology enriched the musical possibilities, in comparison to the mainland Greece prototypes, as we can presume from the rattles added to the *tympana*, which, furthermore, presenting a significant variation of size, may offer drums of high, middle or low pitches. A very singular musical feature may be deduced from the representation of the *pektis* depicted in some Apulian vases, as we can observe in the Naples *pelike*: the lower structure, where one attaches the lower ends of the strings, is actually divided into two yokes, which could enable these instruments to be played in two different tunings. Such features are not observed in the iconographical representations of musical instruments in Attic vase-paintings.

Conclusions: Musical Instruments, Ethnic Signs and Cultural Hybridization

We can analyze the ethnic implications of the various representations of string instruments. In Early Apulian Style (430-370 BC), the representation of the *lyra* is predominant, showing the strength of the Greek colonizers' identity, since the *lyra* was ethnically considered the typical national Greek instrument. In this phase, as we see in a bell-krater of the Berlin Dancing Girl, Orpheus was represented playing the *lyra*, as in Attic vase-painting models (Figure 5).

In Middle and Late Apulian (370-280 B.C.), the *lyra* almost disappeared, being replaced numerically by the traditional Greek *kithara* and the regional rectangular cithara. Nevertheless, the analysis of the iconographical repertoire shows a different treatment of these instruments. The *kithara* continues to appear in mythological scenes, associated principally with Apollo (Figure 6a) and Orpheus (Figure 6b)—and it is worth observing that Apollo and Orpheus are no longer represented with the *lyra* after about the middle of the fourth century.



FIGURE 5 *Orpheus playing lyra.*
Bell-krater. Early Apulian.
Pioneers. The Sisyphus Group. Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl (RVAp L1/12, pr. 2.1-2).
Zurich, Market. Arete, ex Anagni, Museo del Duomo.
Ca. 430-420 B.C.



FIGURE 6A *Apollo with kithara.*
Oinokhoe. Middle Apulian.
The Suckling-Salting Group. The Group of the Yale Pelike (RVAp I.15/18, pr. 140.5).
Naples Stg., inv. 574.
Ca. 350-330 B.C.



FIGURE 6B *Orpheus plays the kithara, in front of the dead man holding a papyrus roll in his hand, inside a naiskos.*
Amphora. Late Apulian.
Ganymedes Painter.
330-320 B.C.
Basle, Antikenmuseum, inv. 540.
Ref.: Schmidt, 1996, n. 214.

On the other hand, the rectangular cithara appears in scenes concerned with an idealized daily life, like love scenes (Figure 7a) and domestic female scenes (Figure 7b), or local funerary practices and beliefs, like the scenes with the deceased represented inside the *naiskos* (Figure 7c). The vase painter in a very clear way marked the presence of Greek and local elements in the hybrid character of musical life, indicating two different and concurrent identities: the membership of both a Greek and a regional Apulian and autochthonous tradition.



FIGURE 7A *Rectangular cithara in love scene.*
Pelike. Middle Apulian.
The Lycurgus Painter and his Circle (RVAp I.16/57).
Geneva, Chamay Coll.
350-40 B. C.

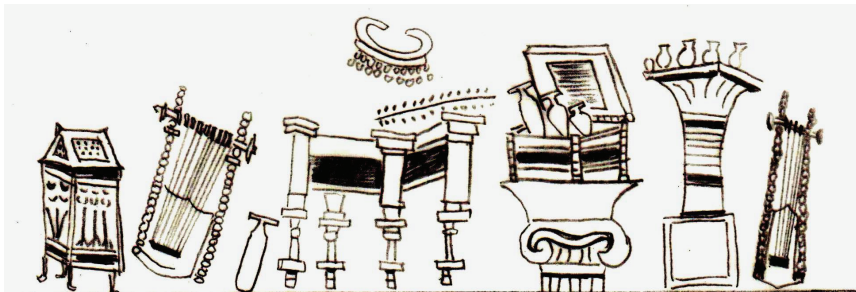


FIGURE 7B *Detail of the representation of a domestic female scene, depicting typical female daily-life objects.*
Loutrophoros. Late Apulian.
Passano Group.
Matera, Museo Nazionale 'D. Ridola', inv. 164531 (ex. Coll. Rizzon).
320 B. C.
Ref.: Schmidt, 1996, n. 328.

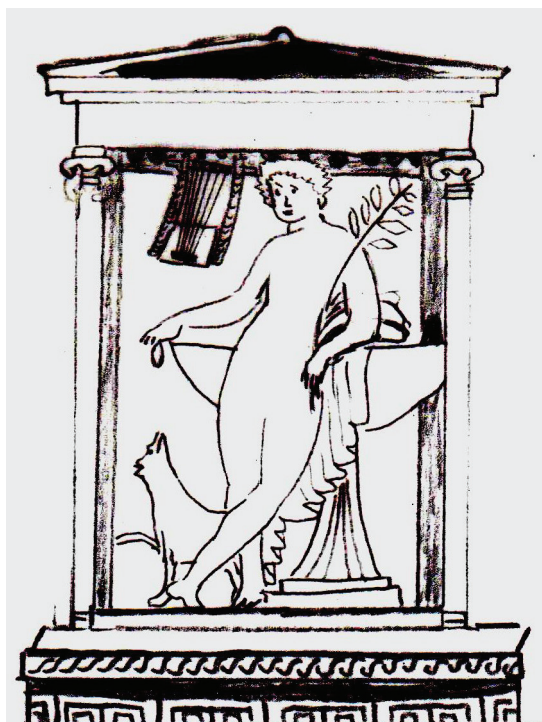


FIGURE 7C *A rectangular cithara in funerary scene.*
Volute-krater. Late Apulian (RFV-Handbook n. 189).
Painter of Copenhagen 4223.
Geneva, HR 69.
Last third of the fourth century.

A vase conserved in the Paul Getty Museum (Figure 8) arouses my interest, for it bears witness to this conscious coexistence of Greek and regional cultural traditions in the second half of the fourth century, and the influence of both traditions on Apulian life. Furthermore the painter seems to consciously use both the musical and pottery traditions as indicators of ethnic elements in their hybrid culture. It is a *loutrophoros*, made in the special cylindrical shape of the Apulian *loutrophoroi*, which constitutes a new vase form.⁵

The iconography is very significant in this connection. The main theme is the *naiskos* with the dead woman, to whom the living figures pay homage. I would like to highlight some details. Inside the temple, there are two vases:

5 According to Denoyelle and Iozzo, 2009, 243 this shape of *loutrophoros* was produced exclusively in Apulia.

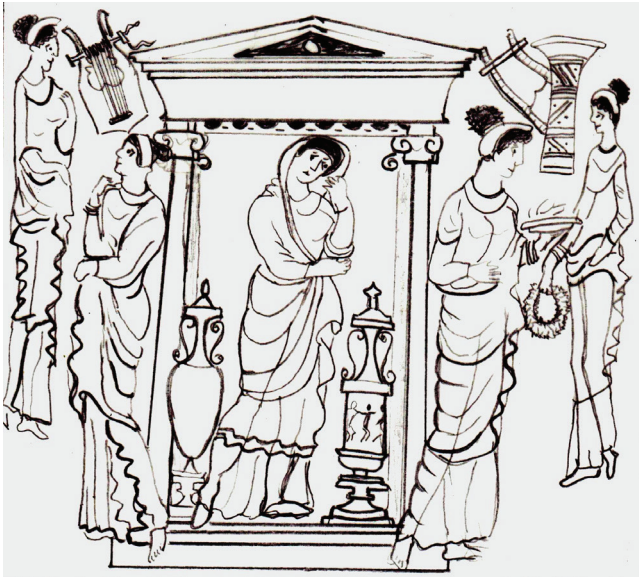


FIGURE 8 *Detail of a funerary scene inside the naiskos.*
Loutrophoros. Late Apulian.
Painter of Louvre MNB n48—The Tantalidae (RVAp Supp. I.20/278a. RFV-Handbook
n. 183).
Malibu, J. P. Getty Museum 82 AE 16.
Ca. 340-30 B.C.

on the left side of the dead woman, an Attic *loutrophoros*, on the right side, an Apulian *loutrophoros*. In parallel to this ethnic dichotomy of the material culture, we see, on the same side as the Attic *loutrophoros*, a traditional Greek *kithara*, and, on the same side as the Apulian *loutrophoros*, a rectangular cithara, typical of the regional organology.

On the other hand, the direct oriental influence over the forms the instruments assumed in the musical culture of Sicily and South Italy, hypothesized for the *sistrum* and the rectangular cithara, is supported by archaeological findings that show contacts with the oriental material culture as an alternative mode of interculturalization, different from the contacts with the Greek world (Pouzadoux 2009).⁶

6 As an example, the tombs in Pithecusa, the most ancient Greek colony, founded in the middle of the eighth century in Italy, on the island of Ischia, revealed Egyptians scarabs and faïence, as well as Syrian pottery. Furthermore, Carthage maintained a regular occupation on the western shore of Sicily, defending Phoenician interests in the region (Markot 1999).

We deal directly, in the materiality of our research object—the Apulian vases—, with at least three traditions: the pottery tradition, the iconographical vase-painting tradition and the organological tradition. Such traditions suffered a hybridization process, bringing several different pasts into the Apulian present (430–270 B.C.), native, Greek and near-eastern pasts.⁷ The symbolic and material elements, through which these traditions express themselves, take part in this wider memory, the cultural memory, which according to Assmann 2008, 50 is complex and pluralist, like a labyrinth, including a quantity of memories and plural identities, different in time and space, with tensions and contradictions that produce its own dynamic. In the same way the heterogeneous Apulian identity and musical culture was a locus of multiple faces and contradictions.

There was a configuration of intercultural exchanges, very propitious to inter-ethnic relations. This scenario directly affected the constitution of hybrid identities, shaped by many stocks of memory, short and long-duration memories, which, in conscious and unconscious ways, received and reworked different musical traditions that were present in the musical culture of the Apulian colonial world. These traditions were reflected in the regions with Greek presence and influence (as in the city of Taras and its surroundings), as well as in the regions within the domain of native elites (such as Messapia, Peucetia and Daunia). Such local societies, relatively Hellenized, continued to cultivate traditional regional values and tastes, and their commercial contacts with the Greeks and with other overseas external stimuli generated new and original cultural manifestations.

In this cultural ambience, the iconographical representation of the musical instruments in Apulian pottery was clearly used as an ethnic indicator, in the context of a multiethnic syncretism. In the middle and late fourth century, when the colonial elites of the Greek *apoikiai* had lost their political, military and even cultural hegemony in South Italy, these representations highlighted the local traditions, as well as the new cultural commodities generated by

7 Margot Schmidt points the contribution of the pottery in studying what she called the “context of reciprocal exchange”: “Over the last few decades the present generation of scholars, particularly of Italians, has been able to make significant advances toward obtaining a proper focus on the native peoples. In this sense, the historical question of cultural receptiveness becomes a central issue: Italic vases assume particular interest when seen in the context of reciprocal exchange, and their historical significance becomes more critical for our better understanding of the highly complex structure that is Magna Graecia, which owes much of its specific nature to its been rooted in the Italian peninsula.” (Schmidt 1996, 447)

the cross-cultural dialogue between Greek and indigenous memories and identities. In a different way, some generations earlier, in the first phase of Apulian pottery, mainly between 440 and 400 B.C., the time when the elites of the colonial Greek cities dominated the region, the representation of the musical instruments had expressed an assimilation (or imposition) of cultural values linked to the Greek colonizer.

So the *lyra* gave place to the Apulian rectangular cithara, while the *trigonon* was replaced by the *pektis*, which received a swan-shaped ornament. The *tympanon* became a more complex instrument and became the expression of the regional popularity of the cult of Dionysus, while the use of the rectangular sistrum, known in South Italy and Sicily since the 8th century, spread all over Magna Graecia, imposing itself as an Apulian cultural symbol. The traditional Greek *kithara* remained as the main concert instrument, representative of the fine culture, connected to the most elevated Greek intellectual and artistic values—which continued to have an enormous prestige, particularly in music, the *kithara* players Apollo and Orpheus remaining the imaginary symbols of cultural refinement and respectability.

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Considerazioni preliminari sul ruolo della *mousike* nel santuario di Demetra *Malophoros* a Selinunte a partire dalle testimonianze archeologiche

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Abstract

Il presente contributo riguarda la *mousike* nella sfera sacra del rinomato santuario di Demetra *Malophoros* a Selinunte (Sicilia occidentale). Le testimonianze archeologiche di interesse “musicale” edite ed inedite, riunite per la prima volta in un corpus unitario, si presentano estremamente eterogenee sia dal punto di vista qualitativo che cronologico, inglobando tanto resti di alcuni strumenti musicali che la loro rappresentazione nel repertorio iconografico della ceramica e nelle tipologie della coroplastica votiva. Lo studio di questi significativi materiali offre dunque l'occasione per iniziare a delineare e a discutere il rapporto fra la musica ed i culti e i riti, ancora parzialmente noti, caratterizzanti il celebre luogo sacro.

Keywords

Selinunte – Demetra *Malophoros* – musica

• • •

Non essere sicuro di apprendere il passato dalle labbra del presente. Non fidarti neanche del mediatore più onesto. Ricorda che ciò che ti viene detto ha sempre un triplice aspetto: riceve una certa forma da chi racconta, è rimodellato da chi ascolta ed è occultato a entrambi dal morto di cui si narra la storia.



Scopo di questi brevi note è proporre una rassegna dei reperti archeologici variamente connessi alla musica provenienti dal celebre santuario selinuntino di Demetra *Malophoros*, collocato sulla sponda occidentale del fiume *Selinos* (odierno Modione) in contrada Gaggera, al fine di verificarne la consistenza e l'eventuale significato culturale e rituale.¹

Prima di entrare *in viva res* è doveroso introdurre, se pure a grandi linee, il luogo sacro preso in considerazione.

La collina della Gaggera, cosiddetta per la presenza di un'omonima fonte di acqua potabile, si trova ad 800 metri ad Ovest dell'acropoli di Selinunte, subcolonia megarese fondata entro la seconda metà del VII secolo a.C. sulla costa occidentale della Sicilia.² L'intera propaggine sabbiosa risulta scandita dalla presenza di diverse aree sacre extraurbane, ciascuna con propria specifica identità religiosa: nel settore centrale della collina, oltre al santuario di Demetra *Malophoros*, il campo di stele e il recinto sacro monumentale detto "del *Meilichios*";³ a Sud, presso la foce del fiume Modione, l'Edificio

1 Oltre che sull'edito, la nostra rassegna archeologica si è potuta avvantaggiare dei risultati del riesame dei materiali conservati negli scantinati del Museo Archeologico Regionale "Antonio Salinas" di Palermo e della lettura dei giornali di scavo relativi alle indagini sistematicamente condotte da Ettore Gabrici, conservati presso l'Archivio Storico del suddetto Museo. Colgo dunque l'occasione per rivolgere i miei più sentiti ringraziamenti alla Dott.ssa Agata Villa, Direttrice del Museo e alla Dott.ssa Lucina Gandolfo, Dirigente dell'Unità Operativa IV, per i permessi di studio generosamente concessimi. Sono inoltre debitrice al Dott. Orazio Paoletti per le preziose (e tempestive) informazioni relative alla ceramica attica restituita dal santuario. I lavori di restauro attualmente interessanti il Museo Archeologico di Palermo non hanno reso possibile la realizzazione di una migliore documentazione fotografica nei tempi previsti per la consegna di questo articolo. *Last but not least* vorrei ringraziare il Prof. Andrew Barker per avere accolto il mio contributo all'interno della rivista da lui diretta.

2 Per una raccolta delle fonti letterarie, epigrafiche e numismatiche e una sintesi della storia della ricerca archeologica su Selinunte: De Vido *et Alii* 2010.

3 Gabrici (1927, 16) ipotizzò la presenza di un muro di "pre-recinzione" di forma trapezoidale che incorporava il *temenos* principale della *Malophoros* e, in posizione complementare, quello cosiddetto "del *Meilichios*" ed il campo di stele. Scavi recenti hanno invece rivelato come il tratto meridionale di tale muro servisse più verosimilmente da protezione dalle acque invasive del fiume *Selinos*, mentre quello settentrionale fosse pertinente all'adiacente *temenos* dell'area della sorgente (Dehl—Dewailly 1986). Il campo di stele è costituito da un'ampia area, al centro della quale è collocato un altare a tre betili a forma di parallelepipedo. Intorno ad esso sono state scavate numerose deposizioni e stele. Proprio alcuni esemplari di queste ultime recano l'iscrizione dell'epiclesi *Milichios*, *Melichios* o *Meilichios* ("dolce

“Triolo Nord”,⁴ mentre a Nord, verso l'entroterra, la zona della sorgente⁵ ed il Tempio “M”.⁶

In questo contributo ci occuperemo del santuario della *Malophoros*, il più vasto ed articolato fra i contesti sacri sopra menzionati (Figure 1).

Lo scavo dell'area sacra è esteso su di un'ampia superficie di forma rettangolare (50×60 m) in cui si sono stratificati oggetti e avanzi di sacrifici dei quattro secoli di frequentazione del santuario, dal momento della fondazione sino alla distruzione della colonia per mano dei Cartaginesi nel 250 a.C.

Piuttosto difficile è ricostruire una sequenza stratigrafica, così come modernamente si intende: lo scavo all'epoca delle prime indagini, fra la fine dell'Ottocento e gli inizi del Novecento, era inteso (e proprio così è definito più volte dai medesimi scavatori) come “disterro”;⁷ pur individuando strati differenti per colore, natura e consistenza del terreno, non sono altrettanto chiari, fra i

come il miele”) da riferire al nume tutelare riconosciuto in Zeus. Una distinta fase di frequentazione dell'area è contraddistinta dall'obliterazione della porzione orientale del campo di stele e dall'edificazione di nuove strutture “monumentali”, di cui non è possibile stabilire con certezza la divinità cui erano dedicate. Per una descrizione più accurata delle strutture e la loro cronologia: Grotta 2010, 23-100, 221-277.

- 4 Il tempio, riportato alla luce negli anni 1982 e 1983, è costituito da una struttura ad *oikos* bipartita, davanti alla quale è ubicato l'altare monumentale (Dewailly—Gregori 1984, 21-29, Parisi Presicce 1984, 29-38; Parisi Presicce 1986, 40-53; Zoppi 1993, 81). Edificato intorno al primo venticinquennio del VI secolo, subì una distruzione nel IV secolo a.C. probabilmente a causa di un sisma; ciononostante l'area di culto continuò ad essere frequentata sino alla metà del III secolo a.C. La dedica dell'edificio è generalmente riferita ad Era. Cf. Parisi Presicce 1984, 1985; 2003; 2005b.
- 5 Si tratta del muro nord di quella che Gabrici interpretò come area di “pre-recinzione” del santuario e che ulteriori indagini archeologiche hanno rivelato invece essere il lato sud di un *temenos* che doveva racchiudere la fonte ed altre strutture monumentali (Dehl—Dewailly 1986, 59-66). Pochi metri a Est della vasca della fonte Gaggera, al di sotto del fabbricato rustico noto come “Casa Messana” (oggi adibito ad *Antiquarium*), sono stati scoperti un altare ed i resti di una canaletta, forse prosecuzione di quella che attraversa il santuario della *Malophoros*: Parisi Presicce 2005b, 177. Per la proposta di collegamento fra la fonte ed il “tempio M” al culto della ninfa locale *Eurymedousa*: Zoppi 2009, 67-69.
- 6 Il tempio detto “M” dall'iniziale del cognome della sua scopritrice, l'allora soprintendente Jole Bovio-Marconi, fu scoperto tra il 1954 e il 1955 (Bovio-Marconi 1954, 172). I rinvenimenti nell'area riguardano non solo le fondazioni di un edificio templare a pianta rettangolare, ma anche i resti di una imponente gradinata ed un'ampia area lastricata. Tali strutture sono state interpretate come fontana monumentale (Masseria 1978-1979) e, più attendibilmente, come complesso santuarioale (Sguaitamatti 1993, 151-157; Pompeo 1999, 1-100, con raccolta sistematica della bibliografia precedente). Sulla presunta dedica dell'edificio ad Eracle: Pompeo 1999, 79-83; Parisi Presicce 2003, 278; Parisi Presicce 2005a, 176; Zoppi 2009, 69. Per una discussione puntuale delle proposte di datazione del tempio: ZOPPI 2009, 60-64.
- 7 Per una sintesi della storia degli scavi cf. da ultimo Grotta 2010, 1-5.

la fine. Dopo la fase punica di frequentazione del santuario, si assiste invece, in un momento ancora da ben definire e molto genericamente collocato “fra la decadenza dell’Impero romano e l’alto medioevo”,⁹ alla defunzionalizzazione dell’area sacra, con il riadattamento delle strutture esistenti e l’edificazione di alcuni modesti ambienti ad uso domestico.¹⁰

La *Malophoros* è riconosciuta come nume titolare del tempio principale e convenzionalmente dell’intera area del santuario. La divinità è menzionata non solo fra le principali dei Selinuntini nominate nella nota iscrizione del tempio G,¹¹ ma anche in un’iscrizione lapidea su una mensola tufacea con alta cornice aggettante del secondo quarto del V secolo a.C.¹² ed in un’epigrafe su un frammento di orlo riferibile ad una piccola brocca forse a figure nere,¹³ entrambe provenienti dal santuario. La presenza della semplice epiclesi, senza la specifica menzione del nome della divinità di riferimento, ha alimentato un annoso dibattito, volto a riconoscere un presunto sostrato anellenico nella religiosità selinuntina o ad enfatizzare lo stretto collegamento con la religione greca, in particolare dei coloni megaresi.¹⁴

La menzione da parte di Pausania di uno *hieron* dedicato a Demetra *Malophoros* nell’area portuale di Megara Nisea,¹⁵ l’importanza assunta dalla medesima nelle colonie megaresi del Ponto, Bisanzio e Callatis, ribadita dalla presenza di un mese *Malophorios* chiaramente derivato dall’epiclesi della dea, e l’attestazione ad Anchialo, probabilmente per tramite di Mesembria, di un’iscrizione di età imperiale che riferisce di una dea *Malophoros* forniscono elementi a favore del riconoscimento di una connotazione greca e più specificatamente megarese del culto di Demetra *Malophoros* a Selinunte.¹⁶ Non sorprende, infatti, che anche nella subcolonia di Megara Iblea, alla cui fondazione partecipò certamente anche Megara Nisea, madrepatria di quest’ultima, sia presente un culto originario della metropoli.

9 Gabrici 1927, 65.

10 Per una descrizione delle strutture e delle fasi di frequentazione del santuario v. da ultimo Grotta 2010, 7-36. Sulle ultime fasi di vita di Selinunte: De Vido 2009.

11 L’iscrizione, nota sin dalla metà dell’Ottocento, è stata oggetto di numerosi interventi e studi, per una sintesi dei quali si rimanda ad Antonetti in Antonetti—De Vido 2006b.

12 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 8752. Misure: 17,6x39,8x50,1 cm. Cf. Manni Piraino 1973, 86-88, n. 56; *SEG* 12, 411; 18, 410; *SEG* 32, 1982, 932.

13 Il reperto risulta attualmente disperso: Gabrici 1927, 340, tav. XCV, n. 1.

14 Per una sintesi sulla problematica Grotta 2010, 177-179 (con riferimenti bibliografici principali).

15 Paus., I, 44, 3.

16 Per una discussione sui dati letterari ed epigrafici relativi all’epiclesi *Malophoros* cf. Dewailly 1992, 143-145; Perale 2009.

Un maggiore accordo si riscontra sul significato da attribuire all'epiclesi, da una minoranza di studiosi ricondotta all'indoeuropeo e interpretata con il significato di "dispensatrice di armenti", ma più verosimilmente da ricondurre alla voce dorica *malum* e da intendere nel senso di "frugifera" (ovvero "portatrice di frutti").¹⁷

A gravare ulteriormente sulla conoscenza complessiva del santuario è, oltre alla già lamentata insufficienza di dati stratigrafici, la mancanza di un esame analitico dei materiali archeologici, condotto in senso diacronico, che ci impedisce di avanzare considerazioni in ordine alle loro attestazioni, quantità, ricorrenze ed altrettanto significative assenze.

Tuttavia, dalle caratteristiche architettoniche e dalla variegata e articolata tipologia dei rinvenimenti archeologici sinora resi noti emerge già con chiarezza la peculiarità e, per certi aspetti, l'enigmaticità rituale e culturale della divinità, intorno a cui dovevano convergere culti e riti sia di natura agraria, volti ad ottenere la fecondità della terra, che di carattere ctonio.¹⁸

Un approfondimento del rapporto fra numi venerati nel santuario e la musica non potrà che contribuire, dunque, alla comprensione della complessa fisionomia del luogo sacro.

Si è preferito presentare i reperti archeologici censiti, editi ed inediti, distinguendoli nei gruppi tradizionalmente ricorrenti negli studi e riferibili alla tipologia dello strumento musicale cui si riferiscono.

Iniziamo dagli strumenti a fiato. Suonatori e suonatrici di doppio *aulos* si riconoscono sia in una figurina maschile inginocchiata in *faience* di tipo egittizzante della fine del VII—inizio VI secolo a.C. (Figure 2)¹⁹ che in una statuetta fittile femminile stante databile al V secolo a.C. (Figure 3).²⁰

17 Cf. Perale 2009 per un recente ed aggiornato *status questionis*.

18 Sul culto della *Malophoros*: Zuntz 1971, 97-105; Sfameni Gasparro 1986, 144-155; Dewailly 1992, 143-157; Hinz 1998, 144-152; Antonetti—De Vido 2006a.

19 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 53098. Gabrici 1927, 377, fig. 174; Tusa 1985, 614, fig. 679; Bellia 2009, 135, n. 337 (con altri riferimenti bibliografici). Cf. esemplari simili a Lindo: Blinkenberg 1931, 351-353, tav. 55, n. 1259 a (l'esemplare più simile al nostro); n. 1259 b; tav. 56, nn. 1268, 1270-1271, 1279 (tipi differenti). Cf. Hölbl 2005, 123-126 (per la diffusione degli *aegyptiaca* in Sicilia e Magna Grecia).

20 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 44746. H. 10,5 cm. Nei pressi di Licata, a Castellazzo di Marianopoli, all'interno di una tomba, è stata rinvenuta una terracotta molto simile, datata in base alla ceramica con cui era associata, alla seconda metà del IV secolo a.C.: De Miro—Fiorentini 1976-77, 588, tav. LXXII, 3. Recentemente Portale ha alzato la datazione del tipo al V secolo a.C. Per la cronologia e la diffusione del tipo e delle sue versioni: Portale 2008 (2009), 29-30, nota 2. Controlli inventariali non consentono di attribuire al santuario la figurina di un'*auletris* (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 690), confluita nel lavoro di Bellia 2009, 135-136, n. 339, di cui si è invece potuta



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3

Al frammento di una *lekythos* attica a figure rosse con rappresentazione di una figura maschile, probabilmente un comasta con *aulotheke* (Figure 4),²¹ si aggiunge, se pure con qualche dubbio relativamente alla sua provenienza, il frammento di un doppio *aulos* (Figure 5).²² Dello strumento in osso, ascrivibile ad età arcaica, si conserva un elemento di forma cilindrica, con un foro sulla parte superiore, con un'estremità dotata di una porzione adatta al raccordo della sezione con l'elemento successivo.²³

Gli strumenti a corda attestati fra i rinvenimenti dal santuario selinuntino sono invece la *lyra*, anche nella variante del *barbitos*, e la *kithara*. Con una *lyra* trattenuta per uno dei bracci sono raffigurate due figure fittili maschili semi-distese su un letto conviviale nella posa del cosiddetto banchettante.²⁴ Le due figurine, di cui una di produzione selinuntina, riproducono il medesimo tipo e sono databili fra la fine del VI e gli inizi del V secolo a.C.²⁵ Dello strumento

constatare solo una provenienza generica da Selinunte. Sempre dalla consultazione del materiale di archivio è stato inoltre possibile ricavare la notizia di una suonatrice del medesimo strumento musicale proveniente dal santuario (N.I. 44745; H. 6,5 cm), di cui però non si è potuto prendere visione.

21 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66529. H. 9,1 cm.

22 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 23218. Lungh. 6,4 cm. Purtroppo i dati di archivio sono avari di informazioni: a parte una registrazione generica della provenienza del frammento da Selinunte, si conserva il riferimento all'anno di scavo. Questi elementi, unitamente alla conservazione del frammento fra altri materiali in osso e avorio provenienti dal santuario della *Malophoros*, non ne rende inverosimile il medesimo contesto di provenienza. Sull'identificazione delle sezioni di osso riferibili ad *auloi*, spesso confuse con sezioni di cerniere di mobili, o viceversa, si rivelano utili i contributi di Bélis (1988) e Hagel (2009, 2012a e 2012b), nei quali si esaminano la diversa lavorazione, i diametri, gli spessori e le lunghezze delle sezioni, oltre al sistema di incastro, la forma, il numero e la disposizione dei fori in *auloi* di varie epoche e contesti geografici.

23 Potrebbe appartenere tipologicamente a un doppio *aulos* (con 5 fori sul lato superiore e uno sul lato inferiore, quest'ultimo atto a essere chiuso dal pollice, per ciascun *aulos*) come quelli attestati alla fine del VI—inizi del V sec. a.C. a Poseidonia e a Locri: Lepore 2010, 430; Bellia 2012c, 46-47 (ivi bibliografia).

24 La monografia di Dentzer e l'accurata voce del ThesCRA, in particolare le parti dedicate al banchetto greco arcaico a cura di Schmitt Pantel e Lissarague, consentono di seguire agevolmente lo sviluppo in senso diacronico e diatopico del tipo del banchettante nel mondo greco: Dentzer 1982 (ivi bibliografia principale); Schmitt Pantel—Lissarague 2004. Uno studio parimenti importante, se pure ormai datato, resta quello condotto da Fehr 1971 sulla diffusione dell'iconografia nell'arte e nell'artigianato greci arcaici.

25 Tale proposta cronologica è corroborata dal confronto con alcune figurine provenienti da Claro raffiguranti una figura maschile stante con *lyra* (Dewailly 2000, 343-347, fig. 1), in cui alcune caratteristiche come i capelli corti e l'abbigliamento, nonché alcuni tratti stilistici, soprattutto relativi alla resa del volto e dalle proporzioni generali del corpo, privo di



FIGURE 4



FIGURE 5

musicale sono ben riconoscibili, nonostante il trattamento sommario, la cassa di risonanza costituita dal carapace di una testuggine e i lunghi bracci ricurvi (Figure 6).²⁶

dettagli anatomici ben rilevati, presentano affinità con il tipo attestato a Selinunte. Pur accettando il generico richiamo ai tipi greco-orientali, già suggerito da Gabrici (1927, 225) e ribadito da Dentzer (1982, 210, n. 587), un corretto inquadramento stilistico della figurina di produzione locale non può prescindere dal riconoscimento di tratti e caratteristiche prettamente sicelioti, che diventeranno preminenti soprattutto nel corso del V secolo sec. a.C. Si possono ravvisare, infatti, alcune significative somiglianze anche con un reperto proveniente dalla necropoli di Centuripe, ma di fabbrica siracusana, datato agli ultimi decenni del VI secolo a.C. (Museo Comunale di Centuripe, Inv. K 28; figurina dalla tomba 1 di Piano Capitano: Monterosso in Panvini—Sole 2009, 227-228, VI/152).

²⁶ Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 795. H. 10,3; L. 12,2 cm. Cf. Gabrici 1927, 225; Bellia 2009, 135, n. 338.



FIGURE 6

Per quel che riguarda i vasi attici realizzati con la tecnica a figure nere segnaliamo due *lekythoi*, una con la rappresentazione di un suonatore di *lyra* seduto a fianco di un banchettante (Figure 7),²⁷ l'altra con una figura su un asino insieme ad un probabile liricene,²⁸ e infine un frammento di coppa-*skyphos* con un cordofono vicino ad un piccolo arbusto (Figure 8);²⁹ per quelli a figure rosse la raffigurazione di un giovane suonatore di *lyra* seduto su una *lekythos* attribuita al Pittore di Icaro, operante intorno al 460-450 a.C. (Figure 9),³⁰ mentre su due frammenti si conservano solo i piedi di una figura maschile, probabilmente identificabile con un liricene,³¹ e lo strumento a corda accanto ad un motivo ornamentale vegetale (Figure 10).³²

Un *barbitos* è invece rappresentato in un frammento di anfora a figure nere con figura maschile barbata con copricapo a turbante ed una sorta di bacchetta sulla destra databile al 520-510 a.C. (Figure 11),³³ così come, con ogni verosimiglianza, anche in una *lekythos* a fondo bianco con scena di *komos* in

27 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 15344. H. 15,5 cm.

28 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66423. H. 5,1 cm.

29 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66422. H. 3,8 cm.

30 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66425. Beazley 1963, 697, 6 (in cui il reperto è registrato come integro).

31 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66424. Frammento di *lekythos*. H. 4,4 cm.

32 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66528. Frammento di coppa. H. 7 cm.

33 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 1918. H. 9,3 cm. Frammento con iscrizione elogiativa: "...ias (*Chairias?*) kalos" ("...ias (*Chairias?*) è bello"): Gabrici 1927, 339, tav. XCII, n. 9; Beazley 1956, 676.

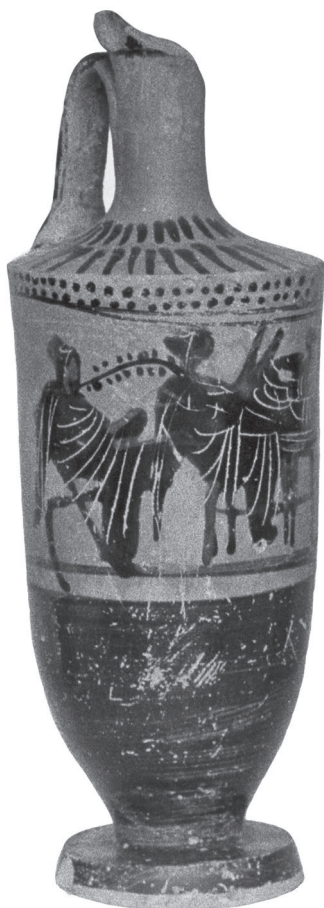


FIGURE 7

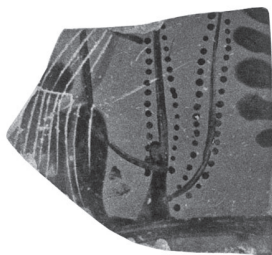


FIGURE 8

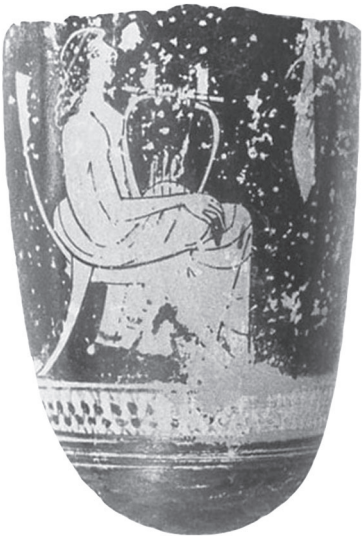


FIGURE 9

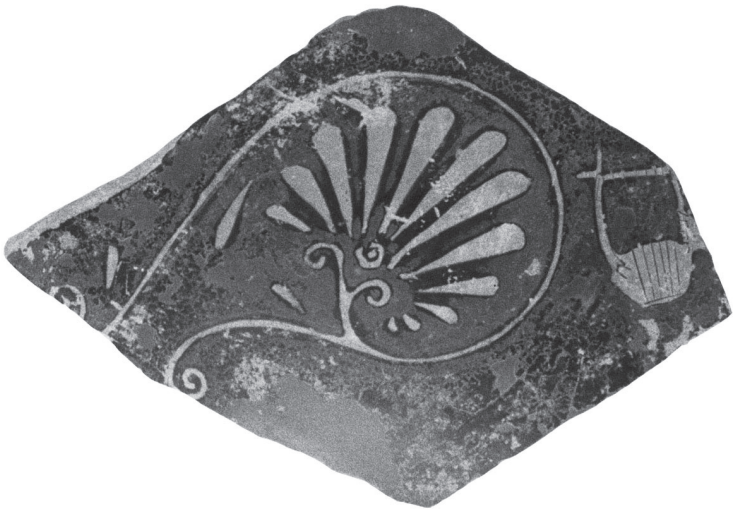


FIGURE 10

cui si distingue una suonatrice del particolare strumento musicale di origine orientale.³⁴

Un *kitharistes* barbato ornato da corona, probabilmente dipendente dal diffuso prototipo di Apollo citaredo,³⁵ è sicuramente quello raffigurato in un frammento di anfora a figure nere riconducibile alla Maniera del Pittore di Princeton e databile al 540-530 a.C. (Figure 12).³⁶

Per quel che riguarda gli strumenti a percussione, fra le testimonianze archeologiche offerte del santuario di Demetra *Malophoros* sono presenti sia una piccola campana bronzea che rappresentazioni di *krotala* sulla ceramica attica.

La campanella di bronzo di forma emisferica possiede la superficie esterna decorata da cerchi concentrici incisi ed un batacchio di ferro sospeso ad un filo attorcigliato, sempre di ferro, passante per un foro superiore (Figure 13).³⁷ Pur essendo piuttosto labili gli elementi per proporre una datazione precisa per manufatti di questo tipo, l'esemplare selinuntino viene con buona verosimiglianza ascrivito al VI sec. a.C.³⁸

Nella tecnica a figure nere è realizzata una *lekythos* attica a fondo bianco in stato frammentario, attribuita al Pittore di *Diosphos* attivo tra il 500 e il 480 a. C. e decorata sul ventre da una quadriga, dietro la quale si riconosce Dioniso con testa rivolta indietro e *kantharos*, mentre davanti ai cavalli è raffigurata una menade che avanza.³⁹ Si aggiungono, poi, un frammento di *olpe* con scena affine a quella precedentemente descritta⁴⁰ e una *lekythos* con satiri e menadi suonatrici di *krotala*, riferibili sempre a produzione attica a figure nere (Figure 14).⁴¹

34 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 15347. H. 16,1 cm.

35 Sulle rappresentazioni vascolari e sui riferimenti letterari all'Apollo citaredo cf. Castaldo 2000, 17-22, con bibliografia.

36 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 1933. H. 9,7 cm; L. 7,3 cm. Gabrici 1927, 338, tav. XCII, n. 1; Beazley 1956, 300, 15.

37 Purtroppo il reperto risulta attualmente disperso: Gabrici 1927, 358; 360, fig. 154 b; Bellia 2010, 80; Bellia 2012a, 39. Attraverso controlli inventariali incrociati è stato invece possibile escludere la provenienza dal santuario di un secondo esemplare (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, inv. 1191) di forma conica, riferito al santuario (Bellia 2010, 80; Bellia 2012a, 39-40), ma invece con provenienza generica da Solunto.

38 Per i problemi relativi alla datazione, cf. Villing 2002, 254, nota 64.

39 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 2025. Gabrici 1927, 327, Fig. 139; Beazley 1956, 509, 8.

40 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66418. H. 8,4 cm.

41 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 1504. H. 7 cm.



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12

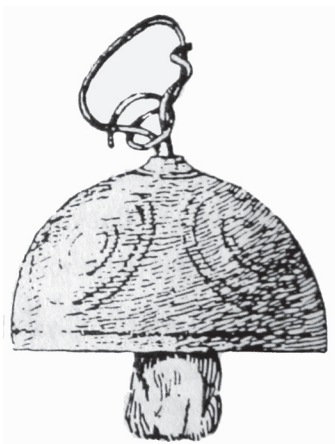


FIGURE 13



FIGURE 14

Sempre nella ceramica attica, in particolare su alcuni frammenti di *lekythoi* a figure nere, non mancano raffigurazioni isolate di figure femminili nell'atto di danzare accompagnandosi con *krotala*, che proprio per lo stato frammentario restano di difficile univoca interpretazione.⁴²

42 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, NN.II. 66419, 66420, 66421. H. 3,2; 5,7; 4,6 cm. Anche se i *krotala* sono generalmente legati ai contesti dionisiaci, non mancano suonatrici di tali strumenti associate ad Ermete o ad Apollo e dunque identificabili, piuttosto che con menadi, con ninfe o muse: Castaldo 2000, 23-138. Per i *krotala* con valenza di strumenti di culto: Palaioikrassa 2006, 376-377.

Nonostante l'ampio spettro semantico di riferimento ad esse riconosciuto, i significati che, in maniera più evidente, i Greci attribuirono alle Sirene sono quelli connessi alla seduzione e, soprattutto, alle insidie che una musica e un canto suadente possono riservare ad un incauto ascoltatore.⁴³ Per tale motivo troviamo coerente inserirne una rapida trattazione in questo contributo.

A parte la loro ricorrenza fra i motivi decorativi della ceramica, in particolare meso e tardo corinzia (Figure 15),⁴⁴ vasi configurati fittili che riproducono le loro sembianze si rintracciano anche nell'ambito della coroplastica arcaica di produzione corinzia e greco-orientale.

Ai decisamente meno numerosi esemplari corinzi⁴⁵ si affianca la maggiore varietà tipologica degli esemplari greco-orientali, la cui diffusione dura sino alla fine del VI—inizi V secolo a.C. (Figure 16).⁴⁶

Di probabile produzione e gusto locale è da considerarsi invece una sirena fittile ascrivibile alla metà del VI secolo a.C., i cui arti frammentari dovevano essere probabilmente impegnati a reggere o suonare strumenti musicali (Figure 17).⁴⁷

43 Mancini 2010 (con riferimenti alle fonti antiche e alla bibliografia principale).

44 Cf. la documentazione già edita in Gabrici 1927, tav. LXXXIV, 3; tav. XC, 2 e 5, Tav. XCIII, 1. Si deve a Dehl von Kaenel (1995) la pubblicazione sistematica della ceramica arcaica proveniente dal santuario fra cui quella corinzia rappresenta sicuramente il lotto più ingente. A titolo esemplificativo dell'utilizzo di sirene fra i motivi ornamentali portiamo l'attenzione sul ripiano di un'ansa di un cratere mesocorinzio, la cui decorazione principale è costituita da scene di combattimento di guerrieri (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 63443, H. 14,7; L. 44 cm): Gabrici 1927, 322, fig. 134, a-b; Dehl von Kaenel 1995, 297-298, tav. 56, n. 3358.

45 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 1651. H. 6,4; L. 4,6 cm: Gabrici 1927, 207, XLIII, n. 6. Per una rassegna dei principali studi condotti sui vasi configurati corinzi ed i loro contesti di rinvenimento, con particolare attenzione ai tipi raffiguranti sirene, ed una nuova loro proposta di classificazione v. Biers 1999. Il *floruit* di tali produzioni è collocato nel decennio 580-570 a.C.: Ducat 1963; Walleinstein 1971; Biers 1999.

46 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 11181. H. 16,3; L. 8,5 cm. Esemplari appartenenti al medesimo tipo di riconoscono nelle necropoli di Tera (Hiller Von Gaertringen 1903, 26-27, fig. 66, n° 13), di Taranto (Lo Porto 1962, fig. 6) e di Morgantina (Bell 1981, 15, 130, tav. 12, n° 51). Ducat propone una datazione affidata all'analisi dei contesti di rinvenimento funerario e, solo in mancanza di essi, basata sul confronto stilistico con altri soggetti iconografici. Alle testimonianze dallo studioso suddivise fra le sue serie "*samienne I*", "*rhodienne I*", "*rhodienne III*" e "*rhodienne V*", corrisponderebbe una datazione compresa fra 570 e 500 a.C.: Ducat 1966, 89.

47 L'esemplare (Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 402; H. 17; L. 11 cm), databile entro la seconda metà del VI secolo a.C., trova confronti puntuali fra le protomi di stile selinuntino rinvenute presso il medesimo santuario appartenenti ai gruppi 12 D e 12 E della classificazione proposta da Wiederkher Schuler (2004, 79-80; 199-201, tav. 55, 12DI.1,



FIGURE 15



FIGURE 16



FIGURE 17



FIGURE 18

Com'è noto, nella Grecia antica il termine *mousike* non ebbe la sola accezione di arte dei suoni, non almeno nel senso moderno del termine, ma fu assunto come connubio tra musica, poesia e danza.⁴⁸ Purtroppo del ricco patrimonio musicale antico pochissimo è giunto a noi, anche se trattando di Selinunte è doveroso almeno ricordare il selinuntino Teleste ditirambografo, esponente, se pure fra i meno rinomati e con posizioni meno radicali, della cosiddetta “Nuova Musica”.⁴⁹

Passando a trattare di rappresentazioni di danza,⁵⁰ non possiamo invece non menzionare il celebre rilievo votivo tufaceo di fine VI secolo a.C., rinvenuto

tav. 56, 12EL1). Gli esemplari più semplici e antichi noti nella plastica greca arcaica sono quelli rinvenuti a Samo, Taso e Lemno, con testa frontale, fornita di *polos* e di orecchini a disco, zampe lunghe ed ali libere, applicate al corpo globulare: Beschi 2006 (2008), 283-292 (con riferimenti bibliografici).

48 Gentili 1988, V.

49 Sul selinuntino Teleste e sul suo ruolo nell'ambito della “rivoluzione della Nuova musica”: Berlizari 2008 e LeVen 2008 (ivi bibliografia precedente).

50 Sulle danze in onore di singole divinità e a carattere rituale: Shapiro 2004, con bibliografia precedente (in particolare 331 per quelle dedicate a Demetra).



FIGURE 19

ad Ovest del *propylon*, la cui interpretazione è ancora discussa (Figure 18).⁵¹ Senza entrare nel merito della questione, troviamo pienamente condivisibili le osservazioni recentemente avanzate da Marconi che ne ha riproposto l'identificazione come scena di ratto, considerato il contesto di rinvenimento, di Core da parte di Ade,⁵² piuttosto che come rappresentazione di scena di danza. È tuttavia interessante rilevare come possa essere comunque recuperato un riferimento, se pure implicito, alla danza: secondo le fonti, infatti, la giovinetta venne rapita proprio mentre stava danzando e raccogliendo fiori sul prato.⁵³

Nell'ambito della danza rientrano anche le già menzionate rappresentazioni di figure femminili con *krotala*, come abbiamo già visto, ritratte spesso nell'atto di danzare. A queste evidenze vascolari già citate, aggiungiamo il frammento di *lekythos* con sileno e figura femminile incedenti verso destra,⁵⁴ quello di una *kylix* con menade fra due sileni⁵⁵ e, infine, quello di un cratere a figure rosse che conserva parte del corpo di un sileno in concitato movimento, coronato di edera e ritratto con un *rhyton* ed un tirso (Figure 19).⁵⁶

51 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 3917. H. 52,1; L. 40,8 cm. Per la bibliografia principale relativa al reperto: Marconi 2009, 193, nota 1.

52 Marconi 2009, in particolare 198-200.

53 Hom., *h. Cer.*, vv. 3-8; Strabo, VI 1,5.

54 Museo Archeologico di Palermo, N.I. 66531.

55 *Sine inventario* (H. 9 cm): Gabrici 1927, 338, tav. XCI, 6.

56 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 66530. L. 10 cm: Gabrici 1927, 340, tav. XCV, 4.



FIGURE 20

Completano la nostra rassegna due figurine fittili femminili, purtroppo lacunose, che riflettono i caratteri delle “Tanagrine” protoellenistiche prodotte nell’isola: esse appartengono a tipi differenti, entrambi caratterizzati da braccia e mani, forse anche capo e parte del volto, coperti da *himation*, e potrebbero essere ritratte anche nello svolgimento di una danza. La prima statuetta, priva della testa, riprende un tipo attico standard databile al primo quarto del III secolo a.C.;⁵⁷ nella seconda, di cui si conserva una porzione ridotta relativa al solo busto acefalo, sembrerebbe prevalere un gusto più decisamente siceliota, che farebbe propendere verso una datazione intorno alla metà del III secolo a.C. (Figure 20).⁵⁸

Altrettanto poco numerose, ma comunque presenti, sono le testine di sapore “tanagrino-siceliota” restituite dal santuario, che confermano il ridotto successo per tale categoria di *ex voto* nell’ambito del santuario.⁵⁹

In mancanza di testimonianze scritte sulla fenomenologia religiosa riferibile a Demetra *Malophoros* a Selinunte, sono proprio le offerte votive donate dai fedeli a fornire indizi sui culti e i riti praticati all’interno del santuario, anche se, osservate da una prospettiva archeologica, le problematiche connesse alla ricostruzione dei riti incutono (o almeno dovrebbero) una certa soggezione. L’archeologia offre infatti uno strumento di indagine parziale che non

57 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 561. H. 22,4 cm.

58 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 44752. H. 6 cm.

59 È dunque da rivedere quanto sostenuto da Gabrici (1927, 295) sulla totale assenza delle “terrecotte di tipo tanagrino”.

permette di ricostruire completamente elementi importanti come parole, gesti e suoni, il cui ruolo in qualsivoglia ambito cerimoniale rimane indiscutibile.

Non particolarmente utile si è rivelato il tentativo di ricostruire *a posteriori* il preciso contesto di rinvenimento dei materiali al fine di delinearne la distribuzione all'interno del santuario e poter avanzare ipotesi sul loro specifico utilizzo nell'area sacra. I giornali di scavo consultati, relativi alle sette campagne dirette da Gabrici dal 1915 al 1926, riportano succinte informazioni di carattere generale accompagnate da liste di reperti, di cui è talvolta indicata la misura e, nei casi più fortunati, una sommaria descrizione. Risulta evidente, dunque, la difficoltà riscontrata nel proporre a posteriori corrispondenze attendibili fra le serie di materiali elencati nei giornali di scavo e quelli conservati nei magazzini del Museo Archeologico Regionale "A. Salinas" di Palermo.

Fra i casi di nostro interesse, solo per una figurina fittile rappresentante il tipo del banchettante è stato possibile individuare la provenienza dallo strato denominato "e" dagli scavatori.⁶⁰ Si tratta di uno strato ascrivibile ad età arcaica, caratterizzato da sabbia nerastra compatta mescolata a frammenti di ceramica corinzia e resti di riti sacrificali.⁶¹ Non è improbabile che la deposizione della statuetta fosse avvenuta direttamente nel corso di una cerimonia sacra culminante nel momento del sacrificio sull'altare.

La presenza di alcuni reperti, se pure modesta o episodica, e l'altrettanto significativa assenza di altre classi di materiali offrono elementi di riflessione tutt'altro che irrilevanti ai fini della comprensione degli aspetti peculiari della dea tutelare del santuario.

L'*aulos* è onnipresente in tutti i rituali della Grecia antica ed è ben attestato nei santuari greci, anche in contesti dell'Italia meridionale e della Sicilia.⁶² Lo strumento musicale a fiato, oltre ad avere un ruolo significativo nell'ambito delle cerimonie nuziali,⁶³ è strettamente legato al *prosodion*, il canto

60 Come già segnalato in Gabrici 1927, 225.

61 Gabrici 1927, 126.

62 Alle località già note per il rinvenimento di *auloi* (Bellia 2012c, 46-47, nota 9 con bibliografia precedente) si può aggiungere, grazie alle interessanti relazioni di Clemente Marconi e Monica de Cesare tenute ad Agrigento durante il Convegno Moisa 2013, anche Selinunte e Segesta.

63 A tal proposito menzioniamo la suggestiva proposta di Bell (1981, 93) di considerare le ninfe ritratte nelle triadi fittili attestate a Morgantina come partecipanti alla nozze sacre di Persefone, per la celebrazione delle nozze della quale suonavano i loro strumenti sacri. Non bisogna dimenticare i numerosi indizi della presenza di Core/Persefone all'interno del santuario della *Malophoros*, in primis le raffigurazioni del suo ratto nel già menzionato rilievo arcaico ed in un *pinax* fittile locrese (Gabrici 1927, 373-374, tav. LXXVIII, 6; Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 280; H. 15,8 cm). Già Marconi ha sottolineato

processionale, ed il suo suono accompagna e scandisce diversi momenti del rituale sacrificale e di danza rituale.⁶⁴

Non mancano confronti anche nel caso della piccola campana bronzea rinvenuta nel santuario selinuntino.⁶⁵ L'interpretazione di tali manufatti è ancora incerta: nell'ambito sacro demetriaco è stata richiamata la funzione di segnale e di richiamo dei fedeli,⁶⁶ ma non si può escludere l'ipotesi di semplice ed occasionale *ex voto*.⁶⁷

L'offerta di strumenti musicali alle divinità, attestata dalle fonti epigrafiche e dai rinvenimenti archeologici in tutto il Mediterraneo, aveva in primo luogo il ruolo di predisporre favorevolmente gli dei alle richieste dei fedeli; conferiva, come tramandato dalle fonti letterarie, maggiore sacralità ai riti che si svolgevano presso i santuari; inoltre, contribuiva a creare un'atmosfera di "spiritual relaxation" e "spiritual refinement".⁶⁸

Ricapitolando, a fronte del ridotto, quanto significativo, numero di strumenti musicali, il santuario di Demetra *Malophoros* ha restituito, stando ai dati attuali, un numero limitato di figurine fittili e di scene musicali sulla ceramica. All'interno di questa variegata documentazione, i cordofoni sono legati esclusivamente all'ambito maschile, mentre gli idiofoni, rappresentati al momento esclusivamente dai *krotala*, sono associati a figure femminili. Gli aerofoni, attestati esclusivamente dal doppio *aulos*, compaiono invece in collegamento a figure sia maschili che, soprattutto, femminili.⁶⁹

l'esistenza di una pratica diffusa di dedicare in santuari demetriaci immagini del ratto della dea, "non per caso, dato che a quel mito era affidata, quasi integralmente, l'immagine della dea Demetra e del suo culto, che nel mito stesso trovava la sua fondazione": Marconi 2009, 202.

64 Papadopoulou 2004, 347 (in generale sulla tipologia degli strumenti a fiato); 349-350 (raccolta di fonti sugli aerofoni); 351-352 (*auloi* come *ex voto*); 354 (*auloi* trovati nei santuari).

65 Per la presenza nell'ambito sacro di campane in bronzo nell'antica Grecia cf. Villing 2002, 246-250; Villing 2006, 379-380; con attenzione esclusiva ai rinvenimenti della Sicilia: Bellia 2011, 5-6; Bellia 2012a, 37-43. Cf. Papadopoulou 2004, 348 (in generale sugli strumenti a percussione).

66 Bellia 2011, 6; Bellia 2012a, 42 (con riferimenti bibliografici).

67 Per l'offerta di strumenti musicali alle divinità: Haldane 1966; Villing 2006, 376-379. Per una raccolta di fonti su questi particolari *ex voto*: Papadopoulou 2004, 349-352.

68 Haldane 1966, 107. Sugli strumenti musicali nei contesti culturali cf. Papadopoulou 2004, 347.

69 Sulle "*femmes musiciennes*": Belis 1999, 37-60.

I tipi fittili e le scene musicali su ceramica, prevalentemente di produzione attica,⁷⁰ offrono una documentazione di temi e percorsi legati alla musica che possono sia trarre ispirazione dal repertorio figurativo legato a specifiche divinità sia da quello relativo alla vita quotidiana degli offerenti/dedicanti.

La coroplastica rinvenuta nel corso degli scavi dell'area sacra si distingue per abbondanza e varietà dei tipi, in cui predominanti sono le figure femminili, sedute o stanti, caratterizzate da vari attributi/offerte (prevalentemente porcellini, fiaccole, vegetali). La produzione seriale di figurine con strumenti musicali, che pure conosce particolare fortuna in Sicilia dalla fine del V sec. a.C. all'età ellenistica, con un'alta percentuale di esemplari databile nel IV secolo, non sembra incontrare però particolare fortuna e gradimento nel santuario selinuntino, dove si attestano solo sporadici rinvenimenti di suonatrici di doppio *aulos*.⁷¹ Non è possibile proporre con certezza l'identificazione dei soggetti che potrebbero rappresentare divinità, sacerdoti, ma anche semplici offerenti.

Altrettanto limitata e problematica è la presenza di figurine fittili riferibili a danzatrici. Negli studi sulla danza antica non mancano riferimenti alle cosiddette "mantle dancers", "muffled dancers", "Manteltänzer", *verhulte Tänzerinnen*, "danseuses en manteau" o "danzatrici velate", tipiche della coroplastica e della bronzistica di piccole dimensioni d'età ellenistica, che riproducono donne con braccia e mani (talvolta anche il capo e parte del volto) coperte da un *himation* ed impegnate in quella che appare una danza. Non bisogna però dimenticare come vi sia sempre un certo margine di arbitrarietà nel decidere se si tratti di rappresentazioni di donne che danzano, se le varie figure raffigurino momenti di uno stesso tipo di danza, se tali danze fossero riservate a professioniste o no, e persino se la danza avesse o meno significato religioso e, in caso affermativo, a quale peculiare divinità fosse consacrata.⁷²

Il simposio si conferma fra i luoghi privilegiati di fruizione musicale, come dimostra il repertorio iconografico sia della coroplastica che della ceramica rinvenute nel santuario ed in cui predomina la presenza degli strumenti a corda. I cordofoni richiamano esplicitamente l'attività musicale e poetica dal chiaro e riconosciuto valore paideutico che contraddistingue una delle occasioni di esibizione peculiari dell'ideologia aristocratica.⁷³ Non va tuttavia sottovalutato

70 Sulla ceramica attica dal santuario: Gabrici 1927; CVA Italia XIV; Paoletti 1990; Paoletti 1992; Greco—Tardo 2009.

71 Sulle figurine fittili con strumenti musicali in Sicilia: Bellia 2009. Cf. Pautasso 2009 (2011), 837-839.

72 Sulle "baker dancers" e le altre figurine ellenistiche di danzatrici: Naerebout 2001-2002.

73 Sullo stretto rapporto tra musica, poesia e simposio v. Lissarrague 1989, 147-166; Calame 1996, 489-492; Bessi 1997. Sull'utilizzo della *lyra* nelle *performances* corali: Almazova 2012.

come l'identità dei banchettanti restituiti dai santuari sia variamente riferita in letteratura non solo a quella di semplici mortali, pur di condizioni sociali privilegiate, ma anche a quella di figure divine ed eroi, ritratti ora nel pieno svolgimento di banchetti culturali ora in scene a carattere privato.⁷⁴

Le rimanenti iconografie attestate dalla ceramica attica restituita dal santuario confermano ancora una volta come le divinità che manifestano la loro potenza attraverso la musica siano principalmente Apollo e Dioniso.⁷⁵

Apollo è la divinità che ha il legame più esplicito con la musica, ricostruibile sia attraverso il repertorio vascolare che delle fonti letterarie. Lo strumento più antico che gli viene attribuito è la *phorminx*, presumibilmente uno strumento a corda dalla cassa arrotondata, che verrà sostituito progressivamente a partire dal VI sec. a.C. dalla *kithara* e dalla *lyra*.⁷⁶

Il riferimento alla sfera dionisiaca è invece ben riconoscibile nelle scene in cui sono raffigurati satiri e menadi, queste ultime riprese in una danza estatica nell'atto di battere i *krotala*, che scandiscono il ritmo, talvolta anche in presenza dello stesso Dioniso: il *thiasos* dionisiaco mostra, com'è risaputo, le conseguenze dell'ebbrezza, di cui le danze frenetiche, come quelle ritmate dagli strumenti a percussione, sono piena espressione.⁷⁷

Il risalto nell'ambito del rituale delle pratiche di carattere libatorio,⁷⁸ evocato sia dalle rappresentazioni di banchettanti che dalla sfera iconografica dionisiaca, è confermato anche dalle forme vascolari attestate (anfore, coppe, *olpai*). A queste si affiancano alcune forme destinate a contenere unguenti e oli profumati, la cui presenza è da relazionare sia alla preziosità del contenuto che le rendeva degne di essere offerte alla divinità che al loro probabile utilizzo e consumo nel corso delle cerimonie religiose.⁷⁹

74 Dentzer 1982; Schmitt Pantel—Lissarague 2004.

75 Per una ricerca incentrata sul ruolo della musica nel *pantheon* greco, visto attraverso lo studio delle raffigurazioni nelle ceramiche attiche: Castaldo 2000, 15-37 (per Apollo); 79-108 (per Dioniso).

76 Castaldo 1993, 7-9; Sarti 1992.

77 Per questa sfera iconografica, legata alla musica, si rimanda a Restani (1991, 379). La danza estatica è ritenuta una componente fondamentale degli aspetti legati alla sfera dionisiaca: Jeanmaire 1949, 463-473. Sul ruolo fondamentale di menadi e satiri nell'ambito del corteggio dionisiaco cf. Nilsson (1952, 113).

78 Schmitt Pantel 1995, 98ss.; Simon 2004, 237-253.

79 L'uso del profumo nell'antichità è ormai ampiamente riconosciuto e ricondotto genericamente ad una valenza individuale (legata prevalentemente all'uso personale femminile e a quello atletico); ad una valenza sociale (in quanto bene di lusso rappresentativo di un certo *status* sociale); ad una valenza funeraria (perché collegato al rito preparatorio della salma per la sepoltura); infine, ad una valenza votivo-religiosa

Difficile decrittare in modo univoco il significato sotteso alle rappresentazioni di sirene: oltre ad essere famose tentatrici che irretiscono con il loro canto irresistibile, detentrici di una forza ammaliatrice che attira e distrugge, tali creature mostruose sono simbolo di inaccessibilità.⁸⁰ A parte il riconoscimento di una loro generica valenza apotropaica, altrettanto riconosciuta è la loro funzione di protettrici della morte⁸¹ e di fedeli accolite delle divinità femminili legate alla *kourotrophia* e alla protezione delle donne.⁸²

Se la perdita della documentazione sulla musica greca è senza dubbio notevole e talora per noi moderni frustrante, è pur vero che essa doveva permeare ogni aspetto della vita dei Greci dei più vari livelli sociali, a partire dal momento della loro formazione culturale e, via via, nelle diverse occasioni della vita quotidiana, pubblica e privata.⁸³

Nel mondo siceliota, così come in quello greco in generale, la musica non poteva che costituire il fulcro di cerimonie religiose, di cortei e processioni sacre, che dovevano rimandare a utilizzi differenti di canti, danze, ed esecuzioni strumentali.

Durante le feste relative al ciclo demetriaco-coreico, il suono cupo degli strumenti a fiato occupava larga parte nella celebrazione del triduo tesmoforico, mentre i momenti “orgiastici” ed evocativi della ricerca disperata di Core da parte di Demetra pare fossero scanditi dai crepitii dei *kymbala* e del *tympanon*,⁸⁴ allo stato attuale assenti nella documentazione restituita dal santuario della *Malophoros*. È inoltre risaputo che i culti di natura ctonia prediligessero generalmente il silenzio.⁸⁵

(in qualità di suggestivo tramite tra uomini e dei): Faure 1987, 225-230. Recentemente l'attenzione della ricerca si è concentrata sui profumi e sul loro uso nei vari ambiti e contesti di uso. *Inter alia* v. Bodiou—Frère—Mehl 2008; Verbanck-Piérard—Massar—Frère 2008; Carannante—D'Acunto 2012.

80 Per l'iconografia della sirena e le sue valenze semantiche, analizzate in prospettiva diatopica e diacronica, v. i contributi di Hofstetter 1990; Hofstetter 1997; Beschi 2006 (2008), 283-292 (con riferimenti bibliografici); Tsiafakis 2003; Mancini 2005 e 2010.

81 Tsiafakis 2003, 77-78. Per le allusioni delle sirene al mondo funebre v. Boldrini 1994, 36. Da ultimo sul particolare legame fra le sirene e Persefone richiamato nel santuario della Mannella a Locri: Lepore 2010, 428.

82 Huysecom-Haxhi 2009, 591.

83 Un quadro sintetico, ma accurato sui diversi tipi di musica e i rispettivi ambiti di fruizione della Grecia antica, con riferimento alle principali testimonianze letterarie in Martinelli 2002.

84 Bellia 2012b, 257-260 (con riferimenti puntuali alle fonti antiche).

85 Haldane 1966, 106; Papadopoulou 2004, 347.

Per comprendere il senso delle testimonianze legate alla musica nel contesto analizzato, è opportuno evitare di modellare l'esegesi archeologica sulle poche fonti letterarie superstiti, peraltro non direttamente ad esso riferibili, che trasformerebbero la comparazione in mera combinazione.

Preme sottolineare che i dati qui presentati sono proposti non come bilancio conclusivo sulla problematica, ma come prima parte di una ricerca che merita approfondimenti futuri: si configura come atto necessario procedere ad una sistematica analisi di tutti o, per lo meno, gran parte dei contesti sacri, in modo da poter disporre di un *dossier* quanto mai ampio per poter recuperare tendenze, costanti, assenze e presenze significative. Non ci sembra tuttavia di volere insistere forzatamente su un'illusoria "realtà musicale" nel santuario di Demetra *Malophoros* riconoscendo al *corpus* dei reperti selezionati la potenza evocativa del ruolo che la *mousike*, fatta di parole cantate, danze, suoni emessi da strumenti musicali diversi e persino silenzi intenzionali, doveva ricoprire all'interno del santuario, a nostro avviso in nulla diminuita dalla episodicità dell'attestazione di alcune classi di materiali e dalla modestia complessiva della documentazione.

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The Musical Culture of the Western Greeks, according to Epigraphical Evidence

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Abstract

Inscriptions concerning musicians in and from Magna Graecia illuminate the musical life of the Western Greeks. There are chronological restrictions; all the inscriptions were written in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, none in Archaic and Classical times. We shall consider resemblances and differences between them and those of mainland Greece and Asia Minor, and relationships between Magna Graecia and Rome. Many inscriptions are honorific decrees for victors in local and Panhellenic musical contests, notably at Delphi. Others are lists of participants, whose commonest musical specialisms were also, perhaps, the most popular. Some reveal the functions of musicians in sanctuaries. Funerary inscriptions, not always evoking the music of the elites, mention composers as well as performers, identifying their gender, age and social status. Some are in verse, elucidating the Western Greeks' conception of μουσική itself, and their poetic techniques for expressing on a stone the feelings of a musical soul.

Keywords

epigraphy – inscriptions – Magna Graecia – music contests – music specialties

Introduction

Among all the sources related to ancient music and musicians, inscriptions play a significant role. This paper aims at presenting some ideas regarding the Greek inscriptions found in Western Greece, which could be interpreted as a mirror of the musical life there. The whole corpus is not very wide, but some interesting features of the musical activities can be identified. The oldest

inscription, dating back to the fifth century BC, could be an inscription written on a black figured hydria, showing on one face (A) a blacksmith at work and on the other one (B) a man sitting and playing the lyre.¹ Each face is inscribed:²

Face A

Ἐποιὸς καλός.

Face B

καλὸς κι[θαριστή]ς {κι[θαρῶδο]ς}.

Epoios [is] handsome.

The citharist (or citharoedus) [is] handsome.

But the inscription is quite problematic. First of all, the name Epoios is not related to the musician, but to the blacksmith. It is not even certain that the name refers to him; it is possible that it belongs to the man who received the hydria as a gift. On Face B, the inscription is badly preserved and it is possible that the *kappa* is wrong. So the restorations cannot be assumed with any certainty. Indeed, the instrument is not a kithara, but a lyre. Hence we cannot even be sure that this inscription refers to a musician. Furthermore, it is an isolated case, because of its date and the material on which it is written. All the other inscriptions were written on stones, in Hellenistic and especially in Roman times. To study the inscriptions of Western Greece, we have at our disposal two main corpuses: the fourteenth volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, edited by G. Kaibel in the Academy of Sciences of Berlin in 1890, and the *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, edited by L. Moretti in Rome between 1968 and 1990. The musical life of Western Greeks appears in different kinds of inscriptions: honorific decrees, lists of participants in contests, epitaphs, even metrical inscriptions. Although these texts are diverse, the study cannot be comprehensive, because inscriptions display only a small part of musical life. However, they give evidence of several of its aspects, and offer thoughts about the deaths of musicians as well as their lives. Three main topics may be brought out by epigraphical sources. The first is the place of musicians in society, as we may infer it from their participation in the musical contests. The second is the information presented by inscriptions on tombstones. And finally, we would like to see how relationships between music and μουσική, more broadly conceived, are brought out in the inscriptions.

¹ Bocci Pacini—Maggiani, 1985.

² *SEG* 35, 1057.

1 The Place of Musicians in Society

To question the place of musicians in society, it is useful to begin with musical contests. It is well known that they played a major role in Greek society, including that of the colonies. First, inscriptions give us evidence that Western Greeks came to the Greek mainland in order to compete in the musical contests. One of the most famous examples is reported in Greek literary sources: it is the citharodic contest between Ariston of Rhegion and Eunomos of Locri, which took place in Delphi.³ The anecdote is well known, because of the miracle that happened to Eunomos: he broke a string while playing and was helped by a cicada which sang to replace the missing note. According to the epigraphical evidence, two other Western Greeks took part in musical contests in Delphi. The first, Athanadas of Rhegion, came to Delphi in 146-145 BC to compete in the Soteria as a citharoedus. The Soteria⁴ were created in Delphi to commemorate the victory of Apollo, by causing an avalanche, over the Gauls who wanted to invade the sanctuary in 279 BC. The inscription does not say that he won, but he gave a remarkable performance and a free recital over a period of two days, and that is why he was honored by the city of Delphi:⁵

ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι

ἄρχοντος Θρασυκλέος, μηνὸς Ποιτροπίου, βουλευόντων τὰν πρώτων ἐξά-
μηνον Ἀριστοβούλου, Τίμωνος, Δαμοστράτου, ἔδοξε ταῖ πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀ-
γορᾷ τελείῳ σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις · ἐπεὶ Ἀθανάδας Ζωπύρου Ῥηγίνος
κιθαρωιδὸς παρα-

γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγῶνι τῶν Σωτηρίων ἀγωνίζατο ἀμέρας δύο, ἐπαιτηθεὶς δὲ
καὶ ὑ[πὸ]

[τ]ο[ῦ] δ[ι]ά[μο]υ ἀμέραν ἐπέδωκε τῷ θεῷ καὶ ταῖ πόλει καὶ εὐδοκίμησεν τῷ
ἀγῶνι ἄξιως το[ῦ]

[τε θε]οῦ καὶ τᾷ πόλιος τᾷς [Ῥηγίνω]ν καὶ τᾷς ἀμετέρας πόλιος ἐν τε ταῖ
ἐπιδαμνίαι ἀνε-

στράφη καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως . . .

To Good Fortune. Under the archon Thrasykles, in the month of Poitropios, Aristoboulos, Timon, Damostratos were members of the council for the first semester. It agreed by the city of Delphians, in plenary assembly

3 Bellia 2010-2011.

4 Manieri 2012.

5 Daux 1949, 276-277; Nachtergaele 1977, 484. Here I give l. 1-8. See Daux 1943, 56; Nachtergaele 1977, 358-362; Στεφανής 1988, 55; Aspiotes 2006, 306.

with the required number of votes: since Athanadas, son of Zopyros, from Rhegion, citharoedus, came to compete in the contest of the Soteria and performed over a period of two days, and since he was asked by the people and gave another day to the god and to the city, and since he got a certain success in the concert, in a way worthy of the god, of the city of Rhegion and of our own city, and since his behaviour was noble and seemly during his stay . . .

The other part of the inscription enumerates all the honors he received from the city of Delphi, honors which were regularly given to musicians and more generally to all benefactors, as we will see in the next inscription. It is also specified that a copy of the text should be sent to Rhegion. Later, under the reign of Titus (79-81 AD), Markos Tyrrhenios Hermoneikos, from Puteoli, won the Pythia, the main musical competition in Delphi and in the whole Greek world.⁶ Puteoli, in the Neapolitan gulf, is nowadays famous for its amphitheater, built under the Flavian dynasty.

θεός. τύχαι ἀγαθᾶ.

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Μ. Τουρρανίῳ Ἑρμονεϊκῷ Που-
τιολανῷ, κιθαρωδῷ, νεικήσαντι Πύθια ἐνδόξως,
πολιτείαν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προμαντείαν, προ-
ξενίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀτέλειαν, γᾶς
καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν, καὶ τᾶλλα τέμια ὅσα τοῖς κα-
λοῖς καγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν δίδοται. ἄρχοντος Τίτου
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, βουλευόντων Ἀγάθωνος κα[ὶ]
Ἀντιγόνου.

God. To Good Fortune. The Delphians gave to Markos Tourranios Hermoneikos from Puteoli, citharoedus, who gloriously won the Pythian contest, the citizenship, for himself and his descendants, priority in consulting the oracle, the proxy, priority in justice, sacred immunity, the right to sit in the first seats, exemption from taxes, the right to own a house and land, and all the other honors that are given to honorable and noble men. Under the archon Titos, Emperor, Augustus, as members of the council Agathon and Antigonos.

Since it is not necessary to think that much time had elapsed between the contest and the inscription itself, we may suggest that Hermoneikos won the

6 *FD* III 4, 34.

Pythian contest in 79 AD, which is the only Pythian year in the short reign of Titus.

Another development should be emphasized in this context, that is, the creation of musical contests in Western Greece itself. Many contests were founded in Hellenistic times, all around the Middle Sea, from Asia Minor to Western Greece. Roman Emperors continued this process by creating Greek contests in Roman cities. Hence contests in Western Greece acquired a certain prestige, which led many artists to come to Italy. But we have only few clues about the contests organized in Western Greece. They are mainly attested in the prize lists of athletes or musicians, and we rarely have a description of the contest itself. Particular attention should nevertheless be paid to the inscriptions unearthed in Western Greece. Two inscriptions can be read, though unfortunately they are extremely fragmentary. The first was found in Naples, and probably refers to a contest in the years 178-186 AD. The only definite information we get from the text is the existence of a contest for poets, in which the winner was Granianos.⁷

ποιητ(ῆς) · λ[υρικῶν μελῶν]
Γρανιανὸς ·

Poet of lyrics
Granianos

The restoration of the poetic genre can be accepted, because the only other possibility would have been epic, which is excluded by the *lambda*. So Granianos was a composer of lyric poetry. We cannot know what kind of lyric poetry it was, but quite probably his poems were dithyrambs. The second inscription is more complete, but undated. It was found in Syracuse:⁸

[—————]
[——] καὶ Εὐβουλ[——]
[——] Τ · υ(ῖδς) · Σεουέρ[ος]
[διδά]σκαλος vac.
[——υ(ῖδς)] · Σπερκια[νὸς(?)]
[σαλπι]κτῆς(?) · vac.
[ὁ δεῖνα υ(ῖδς)] Ἀφρικ[ανὸς(?)]
[κιθαρ]ισ[τῆς(?)]
[—————]

⁷ *INapoli* 54, l. 2-3.

⁸ *SEG* 49, 1330 ; Manganaro 1999, 69, 655.

Performers in three disciplines can be identified: the leader of the choir, the salpinx player and the cithara player. But much of the text is missing and has been restored, and at least one correction may be suggested. This contest is unusual: normally the contest for salpinx players is not included among the musical contests, since it is not considered as a melodic instrument, and that is why the salpinx contest is normally found among the athletic competitions. So perhaps the discipline is not correctly identified. If the *kappa* is wrong, we would expect after the διδάσκαλος the αὐλητής. And it is quite possible that an *eta* has been read as a *kappa*, so we should read rather:

[—————]
 [——] καὶ Εὐβουλ[——]
 [——] Τ. · υ(ἰδς) · Σεουέρ[ος]
 [διδά]σκαλος *vac.*
 [——υ(ἰδς)] · Σπερκια[νός(?)]
 [αὐλ]ητής(?) · *vac.*
 [ὁ δεῖνα υ(ἰδς)] Ἀφρικ[ανός(?)]
 [κιθαρι]σ[τής(?)]
 [—————]

In order to learn more about the musical contests in Western Greece, we should look at the lists of musicians who won prizes. Two of them, written in the Imperial period, have been discovered in Rome. We do not know the names of the winners, but only the genres in which they won their victories. In the first one,⁹ recording that the musician won three crowns, he won contests in Naples and in Puteoli as a comoedus, and at the Pythia as a citharoedus:

Wreath
 [Νέ]αν Πόλιν
 κωμωδούς.

Wreath
 Ποτιόλους
 κωμωδούς.

Wreath
 [Πύ]θια
 [κιθ]αρῶ[δούς].

9 IGUR I 263 = IG XIV 1114.

We may point out two things. The first is that two contests took place in the area of Naples, and the last is probably the Pythia in Delphi. The second is the double nature of the disciplines: comedy and citharoedia have in common the use of the singing voice, so their conjunction is not altogether surprising, but this musician was also a citharoedos, and hence an expert in instrumental music too. This is also the case in the second inscription.¹⁰

Wreath
Νικομήδειαν
διὰ πάντων.

Wreath
Κύζικον
κοινήν
κωμωδῶν.

Wreath
Κύζικον
κωμωδοῦς.

Wreath
Πέργαμον
κιθαρωδοῦς.

Wreath
Κύζικον
κοινήν
τραγωδῶν.

Wreath
Σμύρναν
τραγωδοῦς.

Wreath
Νικομήδειαν
κιθαρωδοῦς.

10 *IGUR* I 261 = *IG* XIV 1111.

Wreath
 Ῥώμην
 τραγωδούς.

Wreath
 Πέργαμον
 διὰ πάντων.

This unknown musician is a winner in comoedia, citharoedia and tragoedia, because of his voice. He also won the contest that combines all specialties.¹¹ All his victories took place in Asia Minor, in Anatolia (Nikomedea of Bithynia, Smyrna, Pergamon, Confederation of Cyzicus), except one, which probably explains why the inscription was found where it was: he won in Rome. But the name of the contest remains unknown. This inscription shows how much a musician could travel, from one border of the Greek world to the other one.

The circulation of musicians is to be understood within the great network built by the Greek cities around the Mediterranean and beyond. There is sometimes a long distance between the origin of the musician and the place where the inscription was found; and it is a fact that the musicians traveled a lot, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman times. A good example is the inscription¹² on the funerary stele of Apollonios, who was a χοροκιθαριστής, i.e. a cithara player who accompanied a choir:

Θεοῖς Καταχθ-
 ονίοις. Ἀπολλ-
 ωνίῳ χοροκι-
 θαρῖ(στῇ) περιοδο-
 νίκη ἀπελεύθε-
 ρος αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε.

To the Chthonian Gods. For Apollonios, citharist accompanying a choir, winner in all the great festivals, his freed slave made (this monument).

The stele was found in Porto Torres (Turrus Libisonis), and we cannot know whether Apollonios was born in Sardinia or not; but we may be sure that he died there. He is said to be περιόδονίχης, meaning that he won all the major contests on the circuit, namely the Pythia, the Isthmia, the Nemeia and the Shield

11 Strasser 2006.

12 IG XIV 611; SEG 42, 890: χοροκιθαρί.

of Argos.¹³ We are not well informed about the contests of χοροκιθαρισταί in the Greek world, but it is clearly the stringed equivalent of the κύκλιος ἀύλητής or χοράυλης.¹⁴ The term is attested in two other inscriptions found in Asia Minor, in Aphrodisias¹⁵ and in Ankara.¹⁶

The Western Greek contests had a certain standing and attracted musicians from the whole Hellenized world, as one inscription found in Italy makes clear. It was discovered in Rome,¹⁷ and indicates that a Cypriot ἀύλητής came to the city. He was a πυθαύλης, a solo ἀύλητής, and at the same time a χοράυλης, an ἀύλητής accompanying a choir.¹⁸ So he probably took part in contests in both disciplines, but the inscription is too fragmentary to allow us to say more. However, it might be suggested that Euphemos is a nickname, because it means ‘good fame’.

[ό] καὶ · Εὐφημος
[π]υθαύλης καὶ
χοράυλης
[Κ]ύπριος · ἐγ[—]

The man also called Euphemos, pythaulēs and choraules, from Cyprus.

The musicians are in a perpetual movement: they travel from city to city, by boat or on foot, but they rarely stay at the same place for long. This strategy was necessary if they were to improve their social status. Having won a musical contest gave a musician additional social value. Some of the Western Greek inscriptions demonstrate the political standing of such winners. Let us consider the case of Poplios Ailios Antigenidas,¹⁹ who won several contests and played the aulos for the *populus Romanus* in the middle of the second century AD.

δόγματι βουλῇ[ς ἡ πόλις τῶν Νεαπολιτῶν]
Π(όπλιον) Αἰλίον Ἀντιγενίδα[ν Νεικομηδέα καὶ Νεαπο]-
λίτην, δημαρχήσαντα [—————] διὰ βίου]
ἀρχιερέα · ἱερᾶς συνόδου θυ[μελικῆς τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν],

13 Amandry 1980 and 1983.

14 Bélis 1988, 230-233 and 242-244.

15 *Aphrodisias* 78, 4.2.1; Roueché 1993 52, 3.1.1.

16 Bosch 1967, 166, 130.

17 *IGUR* II 551. Here I give l. 3-6.

18 Strasser 2002.

19 *INapoli* 47.

πρώτον καὶ μόνον ἀπ' αἰῶνος νεικήσαντα το[ὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους]
 ἀγῶνας, οὗσπερ καὶ μόνους ἡγωνίσατο ἄλλειπτος· Ῥώμην · β · Νέα[ν πόλιν]
 γ · καὶ τὸν διὰ πάντων · καὶ Ποτιόλους τὰ πρῶτα διατεθέντα · ὑπὸ [τοῦ]
 κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνεῖνου Εὐσέβεια καὶ ὁμοίως τὰ ἐξῆς · ἔχει δ[ὲ]
 καὶ τὰ ἐν Νεικομηδείᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι ἐπιλεγόμενα Ἀσκληπεία τῷ αὐ[τῷ]
 ἀγῶνι πυθαύλας, χοραύλας · ἐπαύσατο δὲ ἐτών · λε · αὐλήσας δῆμῳ Ῥωμ[αί]-
 ων ἔτεσιν εἴκοσι.

By decree of the council, the city of the people of Neapolis (worships) Poplios Ailios Antigenidas, citizen of Neikomedeia and of Neapolis, tribune plebis (...) archpriest for life; who, belonging to the sacred thymelic corporation of the Dionysian technitai, was the first and the only one ever to have won the under-mentioned contests, which are only the ones he took part in without being defeated: Rome twice, Neapolis three times, and the contest in all categories; in Puteoli, the first Eusebeia organized by the master Emperor Antoninus and also the following Eusebeia; he also was victorious in the so-called Asklepeia in Neikomedeia, his motherland, in the same contest, as an aulos player, soloist and with choir. He stopped at the age of 35, having played for the Roman people twenty years.

We clearly notice here a link between the victories and social rank. This aulos player made his career essentially in his motherland, Neikomedeia of Bithynia in Asia Minor, and in Italy (Rome, Naples, Puteoli). He even obtained the citizenship of Naples, which is why the inscription was found there. He therefore worked for the Roman authorities. Great musicians can indeed play in public ceremonies. We also have an inscription²⁰ from Rhegion giving the details of the personnel officiating in a cult. Among them there are a trumpet player for sacred ceremonies, and a σπονδαύλης, i.e. an aulos player who specialized in accompanying libations.

ἱεροσκόποι · Μάνιος · Κορνήλιος · Οὐῆρος · Γ(άιος) · Ἀντώνιος
 θύτης · ἱεροσαλπιστής · Γ(άιος) · Ἰούλιος · Ῥηγίνος · ἱεροκῆ(ρυξ)
 Γ(άιος) · Καλπούρνιος · Οὐῆρος · ἱεροπαρέκτης · Κ(ρίντος) · Καικίλιος
 Ῥηγίνος · ταμίας · Μελίφθονγος · Ματούρου. σπονδαύλης
 Νατᾶλις. καπναύγης · Ἐλίκων Ματούρου. μᾶ<γι>ρος Ζώσιμος.

20 IG XIV 617. Here I give l. 5-9. See also IG XIV 618, l. 5.

Haruspices: Manios Kornelios Veros, Gaios Antonios; sacrificing priest, sacred salpinx player: Gaios Ioulios of Rhegion; sacred herald: Gaios Kalpournios Veros; sacred priest's attendant: Quintos Kaikilios of Rhegion; attendant: Meliphthoggos son of Matouros; aulos player for libations: Natalis; smoke-observer: Helikon son of Matouros; cook: Zosimos.

This inscription also shows how closely Greek musicians were involved in Roman society: they all have Latin names that are Hellenized in the inscription. The name of the aulos player for libations is particularly interesting: he has neither *nomen* nor *praenomen*, just a *cognomen*, Natalis, which means 'related to birthday'. Was it a kind of nickname? Was he famous enough in Rhegion to be identified by his *cognomen* alone? Let us notice also the musical name of the attendant, 'with a honey tune' . . . We may also consider the way in which musicians were ranked in the great corporations of musicians. It seems clear that the more a musician won contests, the more he might expect his status to be enhanced. For example, in an inscription dating to AD 198-209,²¹ we read that a πυθαύλης is an archon and that a citharoedus is a secretary. The first has won the 'period', the whole cycle of major contests, whereas the second has not. Both are said to be παραδόξοι, i.e. particularly excellent.

ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος

Βεντιδίου · Σωτ<ά> · πυθαύλου · περιοδοδείκου · παραδόξου,
καὶ γραμματέος Αἰλίου · Ἀγ<α>θημέρου · κιθαρῳδοῦ παραδό-
ξου ·

Under the archon Bentidios Sotas, soloist aulos player, winner of the period, particularly excellent, and the secretary Ailios Agathemerios, citharoedus, particularly excellent.

A document found in the Far West, in Nemausus in the province of Gallia Narbonensis, may be of the same type.²² The inscription was written after 85 AD. In it we see the same diversity of specialisms that were identified in other texts.

[———] ΛΩΠ[—————]
[———] ὡς κωμῳδοῦ Π[—————]
[———] οὐ χοράλῳ ΠΑΡ[—————]

21 SEG 35, 1040. Here I give l. 16-19.

22 IG XIV 2499.

[—]ος Καισαρέως Τραλλ[ιανοῦ —]
 [—]κιος Ταρσεὺς κωμ[ωδῶς —]
 [—] ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἱερᾶς συν[όδου —]
 [—] χοραύλης · γ · Καπετ[ώλια —]
 [—] υἱὸς ἄρχων συνό[δου —]
 [—] Τραλλιανὸς χορ[αύλης —]
 [—] σεβαστονείκη[ς(?) —]

We may finish this small overview of the social status of Western Greek musicians by studying briefly two marginal cases: a dwarf and a woman *choraules*. The first one is very famous:²³

Θ(εοῖς) · Κ(αταχθονίοις).
 Μυροπνόυι νάνῳ
 χοραύλῃ.

To the Chthonian Gods. For Myropnous, dwarf, aulos player with choir.

The dwarf depicted on the stone is unshaven, bearded, hunchbacked, thickset and bow-legged. His auloi are as long as his arms. But he was surely famous. His name is a nickname, because Myropnous means ‘perfumed breath’. So his body places him in the margins of society, but his musical skill probably made him famous in his art. The second example is a woman, called Selene, i.e. the moon, who is also an aulos player who accompanied choirs.²⁴ The interesting point here is that the inscription is bilingual in Greek and Latin.

Licina · M(arci) Crassi · lib(erta) · Seléne
 choraule
 Σελήνῃ χοραυλῖς.

Licina, freed female slave of Marcus Crassus,
 Selene, aulos player with choir. Selene, aulos player with choir.

23 IGUR II 798. See Bieber 1961, 236 Abb. 782; Boschung 1987, 109 Nr. 864 Taf. 46.

24 IGUR II 746.

2 Epitaphs of Musicians

The last two examples mentioned are funerary inscriptions, and many musicians are known only because of their steles. Such documents provide information about the age of musicians and their specialties, which are not only instruments or vocal skills, but also the direction of a choir, as in an inscription found in Rome.²⁵

κῆρυξ καὶ τάφος εἰμὶ
βροτοῦ πάρος ἀρχεχόριοι, |
Εὐτύχους αἰάζων κή-
ρα μινυνθάδιον· |
ὃς θνητοῖς ψυχὴν πεί-
σας ἐπὶ σώμασιν ἐλθεῖν |
τὴν αὐτοῦ μέλεος οὐκ ἀν-
έπεισε μένειν.

I am the herald and the grave of a mortal, once choir director, deploring the early death of Eutyches. The one who had persuaded the soul to go into mortal bodies did not persuade, poor man, his own soul to stay.

Funerary epigraphy allows us to discover other aspects of the musical life of Western Greeks, because these texts relate to the end of a career and a life. Two Western Greek inscriptions give the ages of the dead musicians. The younger is a citharoedus from Alexandria,²⁶ who died in Rome in the second century AD. His name was Flavios Terpnos: his Latin name indicates he belongs to a freed slave family of the Flavian dynasty; his Greek name is probably a nickname, meaning 'joyful'. He died at the age of 20, at the very beginning of his career.

Φλάουιος
Τέρπνος
κιθαρῳιδὸς
Ἀλεξανδρε-
ὺς · ἐτῶν · κ (καὶ ἡμισυ)
ἄφθορος.

²⁵ *IGUR* III 1221.

²⁶ *IGUR* II 1034.

Flavios Terpnos, citharoedus, from Alexandria, at the age of 20 (and a half), unspoiled

The older is a man of advanced years,²⁷ a citharoedus who died at the age of 60, also in Rome. His name, including his own and his father's names, is totally Greek.

Διονύσιος
Ἐπιγόνου
κιθαρωδὸς ἑτῶν ξ'.

Dionysios, son of Epigonos, citharoedus, at the age of 60.

The inscriptions written on gravestones can be metrical, in which case the language is less formulaic than in decrees or lists. Hence Western Greek inscriptions also give us some uncommon terms, found primarily in poetry. Let us consider three inscriptions that have in common a reference to the lyre. Unfortunately, none of them was found with the grave it belonged to,²⁸ though graves with lyre players have indeed been excavated, especially in Magna Graecia, as in Paestum,²⁹ Locri Epizephiri,³⁰ Croton³¹ and Metapontum.³²

The first³³ is the funerary stele of Ammon, who is said to have been a μελωδός, a singer of melodies, and to have played the lyre. The text is written in an iambic metre. There is of course a contrast between his former ability as a singer and the mute shadow he has become. The identity of the dedicators is not entirely clear, but we may suppose that the monument was set up by his children, a man and a woman.

ὁ τῆς σοφίης μελωδός, ἔντεχνος
λύρης · | ὁ τοῦνομα Ἀμμώνι, ἔης πο-
τε· νῦν εἰ νέκυσ, | κείσαι ταφῇ · ἄλλα-
λος ἀνθρώποις σκιά · | ἐν τῇδε μνή-

27 *IGUR* II 483.

28 Perrot 2012.

29 Cipriani 1989, 87.

30 Elia 2010a, 288-289, 295-299 and 305-305, pl. I; Elia 2010b; Lepore 2010.

31 Ruga et al. 2005, 171-172, 178-179, 189-191, pl. LXXII, LXXXII et LXXXIV.

32 Prohászka 1995, 145-157, pl. 41; Carter—Hall 1998, 371; Nava 2004, 960-961, pl. LXVI; De Siena 2007, 440, pl. XI.

33 *IGUR* III 1154.

μη, ἣν δέδωκαν φίλτατοι · | Παῦλος
 Πρόκλα τε, οὐ<ς> θεοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τέ-
 κνα | συνδιαφυλάξαίτε εὖ βι-
 οῦντας εἰς τέλος.
 Ἀμμώνι, εὐψύχι.

The singer of melodies, skilled at the wise lyre, whose name is Ammon, you existed once; but now you are dead, you lie in the grave, a mute shadow for mankind, in this monument given by the very dear Paulos and Prokla. May the gods keep them and their children in good life until death. For Ammon, RIP.

The second inscription³⁴ is the epitaph of the lyre player Soterichos who died at the age of 32.

Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις.
 Σωτηρίχῳ λυριστῇ ἐτῶν
 λβ ἡμίσου · Λούκις
 Πομπώνις Σωτηρίχος
 πατήρ ἐποίησε· εὐψύχι.

To the Chthonian Gods. For Soterichos, lyre player, at the age of 32 and a half, Loukis Pomponis Soterichos, his father, made (this monument). RIP.

The stele was made by his father, who had the same Greek *cognomen*. There is only one epigraphical parallel for the term λυριστής, which is not very useful:³⁵

ἡ σορὸς καὶ ἡ [—]
 λυριστοῦ τ[—]
 ποιητοῦ [—]
 καὶ πατ[ρὸς?—]

However, we can learn a little more about the word from Photius, in his study of the Attic dialect.³⁶ Evidently the term λυριστής does not belong to the Attic language, though it was used in other regions, in Eastern as well as Western Greece:

34 *IGUR* II 965.

35 *Didyma* 579.

36 Phot., *Bibl.* p. 279, 529b.

Καὶ κιθάραν λέγοντες λέγουσι καὶ κιθαριστήν, λύραν δὲ λέγοντες λυριστήν οὐ λέγουσιν.

Then they say κιθάρα and they say also κιθαριστής, whereas, although they say λύρα, they do not say λυριστής.

The third inscription³⁷ is the funerary epigram of an anonymous Italian lyre player. The interesting point is that this man had two specialties: lyre-playing and wrestling.

[—————]
 [—————]μεισ
 [————], | Πρωτο-
 [——νη]ς, βιοτήν γαί-
 η {ν} ἐν Αὐσονίῃ. |
 αἰεὶ δὲ μνήμη σε φυλά-
 ξομεν ὡς παρεόντα |
 εἵνεκ' ἐνηείας εἵναικά
 τ' ἀγ<λ>αῖης· |
 ο<ὐ>δὲ μὲν ἐν θαλίῃ σέο λη-
 σόμεθα οὐδὲ παλαίστρα |
 ἀμφοτέρης ἀρετῆς σῆς
 ἐ<π>ιδευόμενοι. |
 οἷ <ὠ>ς μὲν θαλίῃσι λυρό-
 κτυπος, ὡς δὲ κραταιῷ[ς] |
 ἀμφὶ π<ά>λῃ βιότου ἄ[ν]-
 θος ἔχων ἔθανες. |

Life in the land of Ausonia. Forever we will keep you in mind, as if you were present, because of your good will and of your radiance. We won't forget you either in the banquets or in the palaestra, because we are inferior to you in both qualities. Alas! As a lyre player in the banquets and as a strong man in the wrestling, you died in the flower of your life.

We should also highlight the use of the term λυρόκτυπος, which is not very frequent in the epigraphical sources; there are indeed only three other occurrences. The first (AD 130-131) was found in Kourion, in Cyprus:³⁸

37 *IGUR* III 1319.

38 *IKourion* 104; *SEG* 53, 1747bis. See Lebek 1973.

[ἀγα]θή, *folium* τύχη·
 [.....], πρεσβευτή[ς]
 [καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κ]ύπρου, Ἀντινόω
 [..... χαρι]σθεῖς? ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ]
 [τοῦτο τὸ κιθάρι]σμα? ἀνέθηκεν.
 [Μοῦσα, λαβ' ἀργαλ]έον ἄγγελον τόν[δε]·
 [ὡς αἰνοῦ]μεν Ἄ[δ]ωνιν ὑπὸ χθόνα πα[τρίδ']
 [ἀποφ]θίμενον Ἀντίνου λέγε μοι, [———]
 Α[....]ΥἱΑ μελῶν· σοὶ γάρ με λυροκτύπ[ος ἦϋ]-
 κόμης τὸν αἰοῖδὸν ἐθρέψατο μουνω[θέντα].
 βάρβιτά σοι κίθαριν <τε> δονῶ, παρὰ βωμόν [ἄθικ]-
 τον Ὑλάτα σοι στησάμενος χορὸν ἀ[ρρη]-
 τοφόρων·

Ambassador and vice-strategos of Cyprus, to Antinous, because of a favour given by him, dedicated this tune for kithara.

Muse, take this painful messenger; as we glorify Adonis under the earth of his native land,

Tell me of the dead Antinous . . .

Melodies; indeed, for you, the fine-haired lyre-player

Nurtured the poet who was left alone.

I give to you my barbiton and my kithara, near the incorruptible

Altar, inhabitant of Hyle, after having installed a choir of arretophoroi . . .

This original text is clearly a poem dedicated to Antinous, the young boy loved by the Emperor Hadrian, who committed suicide in the Nile. The restoration κιθάρι]σμα is probably wrong, because the text was obviously sung. We should rather read αἰ]σμα. There are several terms related to musical instruments and performers. The substantive λυρόκτυπος seems to be an epithet for the god Apollo, who inspires the poets. It is the same in another inscription found in the margins of the Greek world (end of the 1st century-3rd century AD), at Talmis in Nubia:³⁹

χρυσοχέλ<υ> Παιάν, Μανδοῦλι, Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάπημα, εἰ λίαν ἐπίσεμος,
 Λατοῦς γόνῃ, χρησιμοδέ λυροκτύπ[ε], <Πύ>[θ]ιε Ἀπολλων,

Paian with the golden lyre, Mandoulis, pleasure of Athena, you are . . .

Son of Leto, lyre-player who sings your oracles, Apollo Pythios

39 Temple de Kalabchah 246,16; SB 5.8511; *LMétr.* 167. Here I give l. 1-2.

Here we recognize traditional *epicleseis* for Apollo, such as Paian. Apollo's lyre, whose Greek name refers to the tortoise shell, is often golden in the texts, recalling the golden phorminx we find in Homeric texts. The most interesting expression associates two abilities of Apollo, his oracular function and his musical skill. That is why the expression is followed by the reference to Apollo Pythios, who is the Delphian Apollo. Here the poet reminds us that oracles are a kind of song that has to be interpreted. But *λυρόκτυπος* is not used only for the gods. It is also an epithet of mortals, as attested in a last inscription (AD 150-200), which comes from Beroia in Macedonia:⁴⁰

Μουσάων θεράπαινα λυροκτύπος
 ὦδε τέθαπται, | Ἀντιγόνα χρηστή, παῖς
 ἔτι φαινομένη, | ἄνδρα Μύρισμον ἀφ[εῖ]-
 σα· γόοις ὥς πάντοτε κοσμεῖ | ταύτην
 καὶ τύμβοις δῶκε μαραιομένην.

The servant of the Muses, lyre-player,
 Is buried here, the noble Antigone, who still
 Looks like a child and left her husband Myrismos.
 He continually adorned her with his lamentations
 And gave her to a grave, since she is consumed.

From the lyre, Greeks created the substantive *lyrikos*, the composer, which is also to be found in a problematic Western Greek inscription. This text⁴¹ dates to the second century AD, and was found in Rome. It mentions Anacreon, which makes us wonder whether a composer named himself Anakreon or whether it is a dedication to the famous poet:

Ἀνακρέων
 λυρικός.

Anacreon, lyric poet.

Another problematic case is the very famous epitaph of Seikilos.⁴² It was unearthed in Tralles and we do not know where Seikilos was born. But we

40 *EKM Beroia* 394; *SEG* 12.339; *SEG* 14.900.

41 *IGUR* IV 1499.

42 *I. Tral.* 219. See Reinach 1926, 171 and 193; Chailley 1979, 166-169; West 1992, 301-302; *DAGM*, n° 23; Perrot 2012.

have to remember that Seikilos means Sicilian, so we may guess that this composer came from Sicily. Finally, not only performers or composers of music are involved in our inquiry, but also specialists in music theory, as we see in a funerary inscription for Agrippeinos, found in Messina.⁴³

Ἀγριππεί-
νω μου-
σικῶ μν-
ημόσυ-
νον.

Remember Agrippeinos, specialist of music theory.

Μουσικός, as a substantive, does not mean that he is a musician, because Greek inscriptions usually give the specialty of the musicians. Μουσικός, in the inscriptions, refers specifically to professors of music theory: Aristoxenos of Tarentum is known as the μουσικός *par excellence*. But it is a fact that μουσικός may mean something else when it is used in the phrase μουσικός ἀνὴρ.

3 The Musical Life: The μουσική in the Western Greek World

All these considerations on music and musicians in the Western Greek world are to be related to the broader category of μουσική. There are indeed some inscriptions that give us some idea about the cultural context with references to lovers of Muses.

First of all, one inscription, found in Rome and written in the late 3rd century AD,⁴⁴ presents Markos Sempronios Neikokrates as a μουσικός ἀνὴρ, further specified as a poet and a cithara player. He was a member of a musical corporation. We do not know whether he is the real author of the text, but the inscription reads as if that were the case.

Μ(άρκος) · Σεμπρώνιος Νεικοκράτης
ἤμην ποτὲ μουσικός ἀνὴρ,
ποιητὴς καὶ κιθαριστὴς ·
μάλιστα δὲ καὶ συνοδείτης ·
πολλὰ βυθοῖσι · καμῶν ·

43 IG XIV 403.

44 IGUR III 1326.

ὁδηπορίες δ' ἄτονήσας ·
 ἔνπορος εὐμόρφων γενόμην,
 φίλοι, μετέπειτα · γυναικῶν ·
 πνεῦμα λαβὼν δᾶνος οὐρανόθεν
 τελέσας χρόνον αὖτ' ἀπέδωκα,
 καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον
 Μοῦσαί μου τὸ σῶμα κρατοῦσιν.

Markos Sempronios Neikokrates. I was once a man devoted to the Muses, a poet and a citharist, and also above all a member of a corporation. Having suffered deeply and exhausted by my travels on foot, I then became, friends, rich in beautiful women. Having received breath as a gift from the sky, after achieving my time I gave it back, and after my death the Muses keep my body.

Another inscription gives a variant to μουσικὸς ἀνὴρ, which is μουσοπόλος.⁴⁵ In this case, we should even say μουσική γυνή, because the μουσοπόλος is Philetiane. We learn that she was a cithara player, probably using the cradle cithara that women in the Greek world played.⁴⁶

[νῦν δὲ νέαν με γυναῖκα' ὀλοαὶ] Μοῖραι κατέχουσιν | εὐκέλα[δο]ν κιθάρης
 γῆρυν ἀμειψαμένην | [ἦτοι πρὸς πάντων ἐνέρ]ων ἔδος ἢ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον · | ἦ με
 Φιλητ[ιάνη]ν θρέψατο μουσοπόλον.

But now the macabre Moirai own me, a young woman who has exchanged the melodious voice of the kithara for the seat of all the dead or for Olympus; this voice nurtured me, Philetiane, who worships Muses.

Μουσοπόλος is well attested in Greek literature and more rarely in Greek epigraphy. Both women and men may be described as μουσοπόλοι.⁴⁷ The most interesting parallel is on an inscription honoring the corporation of artists identified as μουσοπόλοι.⁴⁸ To this reflection about the lovers of Muses we may add two other inscriptions, confirming, if necessary, that poetry played a major role in the musical life of Western Greeks. The first was found in Sicily, at Termini (Thermai Himeraiai), and was made in the second or third century

45 SEG 16, 616. Here I give l. 3-4.

46 Wegner 1949, 31-32.

47 IG II² 3743.

48 IG VII 2484.

AD.⁴⁹ It is composed of two elegiac distichs, in which the poet dedicates a group of statues to members of his family and to his benefactors.

Ἀριστόδαμος Νεμηνίδα Πέρσιος ποιητὰς
τοὺς γονέας καὶ τὸν εὐεργέταν αὐτῶντα
Ἀριστόδαμον Σιμία καὶ τὰν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ
καὶ τὰν ἰδίαν ἀνέστασε.

Aristodamos, son of Nemenidas, from Persia, poet, offered the statue of his parents, of his and their benefactor Aristodamos, son of Simias, of his wife, and of his own wife.

The poetic culture of Western Greeks is well displayed in an inscription dedicated to the prince of the poets, Homer.⁵⁰

Ὅμηρος
ἡρώων κάρυκα ἀρετᾶς μακάρων τε προφήταν
Ἑλλάνων δόξης δεύτερον ἄελιον
Μουσέων φέγγος, Ὅμηρον, ἀγήρατον στόμα κόσμου
παντός, ὄραξ τοῦτον, δαίδαλον ἀρχέτυπον.

οὐχ ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ φράζειν γένος οὐδ' ὄνομ' αὐτό,
νῦν δ' ἔνεκ' Αἰλιανοῦ πάντα σαφῶς ἐρέω·
πατρὶς μοι χθὼν πᾶσα, τὸ δ' οὐνομά φασιν Ὅμηρον·
ἐστὶ δὲ Μουσάων, οὐκ ἐμὸν οὐδὲν ἔπος.

εἰ μὲν θνητὸς ἔφυς, πῶς ἀθάνατόν σε ἐποίησαν
Μοῦσαι καὶ Μοιρῶν νῆμα ἀνέκλωσαν, ἀναξ;
εἰ δ' ἦσθα ἀθάνατος, πῶς ἐν θνητοῖς σε ἀριθμοῦσιν;
οὐ μὰ σέ ταῦτ' ἐχρῆν, σεμνὲ ποιητά, φρονεῖν·
ἄλλ' ἔγνων τὸ ἀληθές· ἐπεὶ τὸ σαφές διαφεύγει,
ἄνθρωπόν φασιν, θεΐέ, σε, Ὅμηρε, πέλειν.

Homer.

Herald of the virtues of heroes and prophet of the blessed, second sun of the glory of the Greeks, radiance of the Muses, Homer, imperishable mouth of the whole universe, you see him, the archetypal craftsman.

49 IG XIV 316.

50 IGUR IV 1532.

It is not my habit to say either the people or the name itself, but now, because of Aelianus, I will say everything clearly. Every land is my motherland, and the name they say is Homer. The verse is of the Muses, not mine at all.

If you were mortal, how did Muses make you immortal and how did they unroll the thread of the Moirai, Lord? But if you were immortal, how can we rank you among mortals? No, (I swear) by you, one must not think that, venerable poet. But I knew the truth. Since what is clear flees, it is said that you, Homer, are a human, but divine.

Magna Graecia is the motherland of a specific kind of poetry, which is the bucolic genre. Very few inscriptions testify to such performances, but they may show the devotion to musician gods, although the evidence is slight. The only case we know of is a dedication of gifts to the god Pan, expressed by two texts.⁵¹ One of them is complete, but the second is too fragmentary to support a significant commentary. In the first one, the god is described as a syrinx player. This is the universe typical of Theocritus.

[σ]οὶ τόδε, συρικτά, Π[άναι]-
 πόλε μείλιχε δαίμο[ν] |
 ἀγνὲ λοετροχόων κοί-
 ρανε Ναιάδων, |
 δῶρον Ὑγείνος ἔτευξ[ε]ν,
 ὃν ἀργαλέης ἀπὸ νόου σου |
 αὐτός, ἄναξ, ὑγιῇ θήκαο προσ-
 πελάσ[α]ς· |
 πᾶσι γάρ [ἐν θυέ]εσσιν ἔμοις
 ἀναφανδὸν ἐπέστης |
 οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλὰ μέσους
 ἡματος ἀμφὶ δρόμους.

For you, syrinx player, Pan, goatherd, deity sweet like honey, sacred master of the Naiads who prepare the water of baths, Hygeinos forged this gift, whom you have yourself cured of a serious disease, Lord, by having come closer. Indeed, in all my sacrifices, you were clearly present, not in a dream but around the mid-course of the day.

51 *IGUR* I 184 and *IGUR* III 1459.

Conclusion

Although the documentation is restricted, it is obvious that epigraphical sources are important in the study of Western Greek music. Inscriptions provoke specific questions: these texts are a form of publication, conveying specific ideas about the society and depicting its roots and its way of life in a specific way. Through them the musical life of Western Greeks, in Hellenistic and Roman times, is better known, although we could have expected more texts. It would be useful to compare them with Latin inscriptions, since Greek musicians are totally absorbed into Roman society. But their Greek identity remains firm, according to the inscriptions. The tradition of Greek poetry is deep, from Homer to Theocritus. Even cold stones may give us the feeling of the Western Greek musical soul.

Abbreviations

<i>Aphrodisias</i>	McCabe, D. F. 1991. <i>Aphrodisias Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> (Princeton)
Didyma	McCabe, D. F. 1985. <i>Didyma Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> (Princeton)
<i>EKM Beroia</i>	Gounaropoulou, L., Miltiades, B. H. 1998. <i>Epigraphes Kato Makedonias (metaxy tou Vermiou orous kai tou Axiou potamou). Teuchos A'. Epigraphes Veroias</i> (Athens)
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> (Athens/Paris)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin)
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Rome)
<i>I.Kourion</i>	Mitford, T. B. 1971. <i>The Inscriptions of Kourion</i> (Philadelphia)
<i>I.Métr.</i>	Bernand, E. 1969. <i>Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte = Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon</i> 98 (Paris)
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Frozen Music: Music and Architecture in Vitruvius' De Architectura

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Abstract

This paper explores the convergence of musical and architectural theory in Vitruvius' *De Architectura*. Section 1 describes Vitruvius' architectural lexicon, borrowed from Aristoxenus (I.2), and explores his description of the laws of harmony, modeled on *Elementa Harmonica* (V.4). Section 2 explores how Vitruvius proposes using music theory in practical architectural design, including construction of columns using architectural orders analogous to Aristoxenian *genera* (I.2.6; IV.1); acoustical designs for theatres (V.5); and the development of machines, including siege engines 'tuned' like musical instruments (X.12) and water-organs [*hydrauli*] constructed to execute all the different varieties of tuning (X.8). Section 3 reflects on Vitruvius' use of analogies with a musical instrument, the *sambuca*, to explain his understanding of cosmic harmony and architectural form, and his possible sources (VI.1). Finally, Section 4 discusses Vitruvius' ideas about the importance of a liberal arts education that includes study of music theory. The best architects, Vitruvius explains, can discover in music the secrets to forms they both encounter in nature and create themselves.

Keywords

Vitruvius – Aristoxenus – architecture – mechanical design – *echea* – *sambuca* – liberal arts education – *encyclios disciplina*

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The German philosopher Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling reflected that ‘architecture, in general, is frozen music [*erstarrte Musik*] . . . it is a concrete music.’¹ Schelling proposed that this metaphorical linkage between music and architecture had an ancient genesis, referring specifically to the Roman Imperial architect Vitruvius, who used harmonic proportions in his architectural designs.² Indeed, Vitruvius’ ten-volume treatise *De Architectura*, covering the fields of architecture, gnomonics, and mechanics [*aedificatio, gnomonice, machinatio*], was profoundly influenced by earlier Greek musical theorists. Under the guidance of Aristoxenus, Pythagoras, and other predecessors whom he calls his *maiores*,³ Vitruvius explores how columns in temples should be designed by analogy with the various musical genera, how stone theatres can be made to resonate like musical instruments, and how the cords of a catapult should be tuned to a precise musical pitch.

This article addresses the ways Vitruvius applied and appropriated Greek music-theoretical principles. I begin by examining how Vitruvian architectural vocabulary and syntax correlates to specific passages in Aristoxenus’ music-theoretical works, *Elementa Harmonica* and *Elementa Rhythmica*, as well as to various elements of the Pythagorean musical theoretical tradition. I then explore the role music plays in the design of the architectural orders, theatres, and machines. I next discuss a curious musical analogy in VI.1 likening the structure of the cosmos to a *sambuca* (in Greek, *sambyké*), a type of arched harp, and that image’s possible antecedents. Finally, I examine Vitruvius’ emphasis on the importance of the *encyclios disciplina*, the ‘rounded education’ in the liberal arts, in the making of the ideal architect. This system of study introduces the aspiring architect to a wide variety of disciplines, including music, as a key to understanding the basic principles of man-made architectural forms—and, indeed, the natural architecture of the cosmos itself.

I Vocabulary, Syntax, and Rhetorical Argument

The terminology of music theory plays an important role in *De Architectura* from its earliest chapters. After a brief introduction that pays homage to his

1 Schelling 1907, 241. The idea was echoed in Goethe’s remark of March 23, 1829, invoking the same analogy to observe that “the mood that arises from architecture comes close to the effects of music.” Cf. Eckermann 1986, 340.

2 Schelling 1907, 241.

3 Vitr. X.1.4. Subsequent references to *De Architectura* omit Vitruvius’ name. All English translations from Latin and Greek are based on, but not always identical to: Rowland 1999, Barker 1989, Hett 1963, and Pearson 1990.

patron, Caesar Augustus, Vitruvius explains his goal of setting forth the philosophies and theories [*rationes*] of architecture⁴ and enumerates the disciplines in which the architectural practitioner should be trained. Music theory is of central importance:

The architect should know music [*musicen*] in order to have a grasp of harmonic and mathematical relations [*uti canonicam rationem et mathematicam notam habeat*],⁵ and besides that, to calibrate *ballistae*, catapults, and [the small catapults called] *scorpiones*. . . . In theatres, likewise, the bronze vessels—the ones Greeks call *echea*—which are enclosed underneath the seats, are placed according to mathematical principle based on their pitch. . . . As another example, no one could possibly create water organs [*hydraulicas*] and other similar devices without recourse to musical principles [*musicis rationibus*].⁶

He immediately focuses on the practical importance of ancient Greek music theory for architectural and mechanical design. Here Vitruvius uses *musicen*, the accusative of the Latinised version of the Greek term *mousikê*, rather than the Latin *musica*, indicating that he is thinking of the Greek theoretical tradition rather than contemporary Roman musical practices and philosophies. Vitruvius proposes that design, spatiality, and proportional measurement can only be fully understood if the architect receives a proper musical training in *canonicam rationem et mathematicam*. Each of the practical applications Vitruvius suggests will receive a more thorough explanation later in his treatise, but from the outset, he takes care to emphasise that these applications all have ‘recourse’ to the *rationes* of musical theory.

Because the term *canonica* appears here in juxtaposition with *mathematica*, it seems to refer to the study of the divisions of the musical *kanôn*, or monochord, which was often associated with the Pythagorean school.⁷ Saliou 2009, however, suggests that Vitruvius may have understood *canonica* more in the sense in which it concerned the *mousikoi*, perhaps referring to “une approche

4 I.Praef.3.

5 I follow Fleury 2003 and Saliou 2009 in translating *canonicam* as ‘harmonic’. See Saliou 2009, 179–181, who notes that “aux yeux de Vitruve, l’étude des intervalles musicaux et celle des proportions mathématiques se confondent” (180).

6 I.1.8–9.

7 Saliou 2009, 180. Creese 2010 points out that the monochord did not actually date back to Pythagoras, although many imagined it did; the monochord does not appear in any references before the late fourth century BC.

globale et sensible de la musique” rather than to a more purely theoretical study of Pythagorean musical ratios.⁸ Either way, Vitruvius’ point is that a knowledge of music is key to understanding the systems which produce architecture and machinery that is closer to nature, and thus more beautiful, convenient, and useful.

In I.2.1, Vitruvius introduces the basic architectural vocabulary that he will use throughout the ten books:

Architecture consists of ordering [*ordinatione*], which in Greek is called *taxis* [τάξις], and of design [*dispositione*]—the Greeks call this *diathesis* [διάθεσις]—and shapeliness [*eurythmia*] and symmetry [*symmetria*] and correctness [*decore*] and allocation [*distributione*] which is called *oikonomia* [οἰκονομία] in Greek.

Vitruvius has not invented these key terms; once again, he borrows from both Pythagoras and Aristoxenus. Five out of six of the terms are Greek, indicating that he has taken them from earlier Greek sources; Latin translations of these terms appear often in Roman philosophical discourses from other disciplines, such as rhetoric.⁹ They also appear in music theory—and here the correspondence seems strongest. *Taxis*, *eurythmia*, *symmetria*, and *diathesis* all play an important role in Aristoxenus’ *Elementa Rhythmica*, where they are defined in a very similar manner. In *Elementa Rhythmica* II.8, Aristoxenus uses the first three terms when discussing the principle of duration, the division of which constitutes rhythm:

For many of their proportions [*symmetriai*/συμμετρίαι] and organizations [*taxeis*/τάξεις] are experienced as alien to perception, few as conformable to it and capable of being organized into the nature of rhythm. The *rhythmizomenon* is in a way common to both unrhythmicness and rhythm: for the *rhythmizomenon* is by nature capable of receiving both kinds of structure, the rhythmic [*eurythmon*/εὐρυθμόν] and the arrhythmic.¹⁰

Diathesis appears earlier in *Elementa Rhythmica* II.5, when Aristoxenus compares the way in which a duration is divided into different rhythmic groupings

8 See Saliou 2009, 181.

9 See Brown 1963.

10 Aristox. *El. Rhyth.* II.8. The term *rhythmizomenon* indicates a collection of sounds or impulses that can be arranged in ways that are either rhythmic or arrhythmic; see Pearson 1990, 52–3.

to how a speech is divided into different words. He speaks in abstract terms about how any object is divided into component parts: 'No object capable of assuming different shapes is to be identified with any of the shapes. The shape is a particular arrangement [διάθεσις] of the parts of the object'.¹¹ These four terms are all located closely together in the text of *Elementa Rhythmica*, making it easy to imagine that Vitruvius appropriated the fundamental vocabulary of musical rhythm for his architectural lexicon from this one source.¹²

For Aristoxenus, *taxeis* indicates the various possible organizations and orderings of rhythmic durations; *symmetria* illustrates the various proportional combinations of different rhythmic and durational lengths; *eurythmia* describes an artistically well-constructed rhythmic structure;¹³ *diathesis* describes the various arrangements in which the components of a whole can be arranged. As Vitruvius uses them, *taxeis* indicates the various arrangements of individual architectural components according to overall proportional schemes; *symmetria* is the correspondence of well-proportioned individual modules to each other and to the whole; *eurythmia* is the elegant composition of well-proportioned parts; *diathesis* describes the different ways individual components can be arranged in an elegant manner.¹⁴ This juxtaposition brings to light the fundamental similarities between architecture and music: just as composers organize and divide rhythmic impulses in temporal 'space' to create music, architecture consists of a similar portioning of volume and physical space.

Two of these terms, *symmetria* and *eurythmia*, can also be understood in relation to the Pythagorean concept of cosmic harmony. Vitruvius proposes that for a structure to have *symmetria*, the measurements of its parts should relate proportionally in a manner analogous to the way parts of an organic whole relate in Nature.¹⁵ As Jones 2000 explains, *symmetria* "reflected a cosmic

11 Aristox, *El. Rhyth.* II.5.

12 Οἰκονομία also appears in the Aristoxenus fragments, but not, it seems, in any musical context. See Werhli fr. 31: in Iambl. v. *Pythag.* 233, the term simply connotes 'home economy'. But it is important to note that the extant fragments of *El. Rhyth.* comprise only a tiny fraction of the second book—perhaps it could have been found in the original?

13 εὐρυθμος appears four times in *El. Rhyth.* (II.7, II.8, II.24) and seven times in his complete *corpus*; cf. related terms ἔνρυθμος (II.21, II.32) and ἔρρυθμος (II.33-35). See also *Fragmenta Neapolitana* 11: 'Some *chronoi* are rhythmic [εὐρυθμοί], others quasi-rhythmic [ῥυθμοειδεῖς], others arrhythmic [ἄρρυθμοί]. Rhythmic *chronoi* are those that observe the rhythmic relationship between one another accurately'.

14 See I.2.2-4.

15 Jones 2000, 41: "For Vitruvius, the task of the architect was to imitate Nature, not literally, but rather by analogy". To illustrate this point, Vitruvius famously describes in III.1.1-3 how

order that reduced ultimately to whole numbers"; these ratios of whole numbers were in turn matched by the Pythagorean ratios of musical harmonies derived from the measurements of vibrating lengths of string (1:2 = octave; 2:3 = fifth, 3:4 = fourth etc.).¹⁶ *Eurythmia*, on the other hand, serves as a "bridge between proportion and form," merging the mathematical proportions of *symmetria* with a more subjective sense of form and grace that also allows the architect flexibility to make necessary optical or practical adjustments.¹⁷ The terms are closely related, and Vitruvian theorists and commentators in the Renaissance often used the term *eurythmia* rather than *symmetria* to discuss how Pythagorean harmonic proportions should be applied to the dimensions of the architectural forms.¹⁸ Although Vitruvius himself never explicitly describes any fully codified system for how to apply harmonic proportions in architecture, he does often lean towards their use in specific areas.¹⁹ Bell 1980, Jones 2000, and Kappraff/McClain 2005, among others, have suggested that ancient Greek architects used musical proportions as the basis for temple designs, including the Parthenon and the Temple of Zeus at Akragas; notably, Vitruvius explains that he acquired his understanding of architectural *symmetria* from the studies of ancient Greek architects, many of whom had been active at that time.²⁰

After defining the principal components of architecture with musically significant terms, Vitruvius devotes an extended discussion to the laws of music theory in V.4 and V.5. Here, he uses the conventional Latin term *musica*, rather

the ratios of various measurements taken from the human body fit together, explaining that 'similarly . . . the elements of holy temples should have dimensions for each individual part that agree with the full magnitude of the work'.

16 Jones 2000, 41.

17 Jones 2000, 43. He explains that "*symmetria* . . . brings abstract beauty, but not necessarily visual beauty. This is the realm of *eurythmia* . . ."

18 Cf. Barbaro 1556, 24, "[B]eautiful manner in music as well as in architecture is called *eurythmia*"; Barbaro 1567, 282, the architect should be "aware of *numero* . . . for those proportions which give delight to the ears in sound, applied to architectural forms, give delight to the eyes"; Barbaro 1567, 124-5, "that which is consonance to the ears is *bellezza* to the eyes". For more on the Renaissance use of harmonic proportions in architecture, with a particular emphasis on Palladio's applications, see Wittkower 1998 and Howard/Longair 1982.

19 See Jones 2000, 231 n. 47.

20 In VII.Praef.12-14, Vitruvius remarks on 'how many Greek books have been published on the subject [of *symmetria*], but very few have been written by our own people'. These works are, unfortunately, no longer extant. Rowland 1999, 267, explains that many of the texts "must have been essentially technical descriptions", but others must have expressed "broader opinions", as suggested by Vitruvius' citation of Pytheos' treatise about the Temple of Minerva (I.1.12).

than the Latinized spelling of the accusative of the Greek term *mousikê* that he had used in I.1.8 (i.e., *musicen*), but still indicates that he considers the entire field of harmonics Greek, and, specifically, Aristoxenian:

Harmonics [*harmonia*], the literature of music, is an obscure and difficult subject, especially, of course, for those who cannot read Greek. However, if we are to explain this discipline, we must use Greek words because some of the concepts of harmonics do not have Latin names. I will therefore translate from, as clearly as I can, the writings of Aristoxenus, and I will include his diagram and his definitions of the notes, so that anyone who pays attention will be able to understand more easily.²¹

Vitruvius then offers a detailed summary of *Elementa Harmonica*, explaining the different types of vocal movement (continuous and intervallic), the three melodic *genera*, the eighteen different notes of the scale, the five tetrachords, and the six types of musical intervals. Although he takes care to translate the concepts behind these theoretical concepts into Latin, Vitruvius claims that he is unable to find exact Latin equivalents for many of the musical terms. He again implies that any Roman student who wishes to understand the various musical systems applicable to architectural practice must turn to the original Greek sources.

Although many first-century BCE Roman writers tended to rely on abridged and simplified versions of Greek textual sources composed by Latin authors, Saliou 2009 proposes that the high degree of similarity between *De Architectura* and Aristoxenus' *Elementa Harmonica* and *Elementa Rhythmica* suggests that Vitruvius was well-acquainted with the original Greek texts. Saliou notes profound structural parallels between texts of Vitruvius and Aristoxenus, indicating that Vitruvius has appropriated the same ordering of subject matter, which was *ordinatio* in ancient rhetorical terminology.²² *Ordinatio*, of course, is also one of the six key principles described in I.2.1. It should be noted that Vitruvius does not always get his terms and definitions quite in agreement with Aristoxenus, and certain differences in tone (didactic vs. polemical) and other smaller structural differences may indicate that he was indeed using abridged manuals as his source. In either case, however, Vitruvius pays tribute

21 V.4.1.

22 Saliou 2009, XXXVIII-XXXIX. Her chart shows that Book V.4 follows the order of *El. Harm.* more closely than the other authors from the Aristoxenian tradition. See also Copeland 1995, who defines *ordinatio* as the "hierarchical arrangement of information" (206).

to his Greek intellectual *maior* by showing how the architect should follow Aristoxenus as a musical guide.

IIa Practical Applications: Architectural Orders

Vitruvius proposes a number of ways in which the musical-architectural theories he describes can be applied in everyday architectural practice. In one example, he suggests that the different architectural orders determining the types of columns used in architectural design (Doric, Ionic, Corinthian) are analogous to the musical tetrachords detailed in V.4. He uses the term *genus* in I.2.6 when discussing the rules that distinguish the orders, recalling Aristoxenus' classification of tetrachords into different *genera*:

If Doric entablatures are sculpted with dentils in the cornices, or triglyphs show up atop cushion capitals and Ionic entablatures, so that characteristics from one set of principles have been carried over into another type [*genus*] of work, the appearance of the result will be jarring, because the work was established according to a different sequence of conventions.

Although the word *genus* is common in Roman literature and philosophical treatises from a wide range of disciplines, it becomes clear in IV.1 that Vitruvius may be alluding to Aristoxenus' musical *genera* when he uses terminology that closely equates the Doric order with the diatonic *genus*, the Ionic with the chromatic, and the Corinthian with the enharmonic. Vitruvius writes that the Doric column is the 'first and oldest' [*prima et antiquitus*] of the three orders, 'severe' [*severo*] and 'without decoration' [*sine ornatu*].²³ The Doric column receives its dimensions from the male human body, achieving a *symmetria* that reflects the proportions of nature.²⁴ Similarly, the diatonic *genus*, characterised by Aristoxenus as the 'first and oldest' [πρώτον],²⁵ is described in *De Architectura* as the most 'natural' [*naturalis*] and 'simple' [*facilior*] of the

23 IV.1.3; I.2.5; IV.1.7.

24 IV.1.6: the Doric order 'obtained its proportion, its strength, and its beauty from the male body' [*virilis corporis proportionem et firmitatem et venustatem . . . coepit*]. Notably, Aristid. Quint. III.11 similarly explains that the diatonic 'displays the perceptible body, which is solid and resistant, just as the diatonic is hard and unyielding; and the constitution it has is similar'.

25 Aristox. *El. Harm.* I.19.

three *genera*.²⁶ The Ionic column is more slender and displays the qualities of subtlety [*subtilitas*] and grace [*gracilitas*],²⁷ just like the chromatic *genus* that Aristoxenus associated with the notion of sweetness²⁸ and which Vitruvius describes as narrow [*crebritas*], subtle [*subtilis*] and bringing delight [*delectatio*] to the listener.²⁹ The Corinthian column is the newest of the three, and the only order whose original creator, the sculptor Callimachus, is identified;³⁰ the enharmonic *genus* is also, according to Aristoxenus, the ‘most sophisticated’ [ἀνώτατον],³¹ and according to Vitruvius is invented by human artistry and skill [*ab arte concepta*].³² Finally, Vitruvius explains that both the musical *genera* and the architectural orders originally derive from natural models, which were shaped, refined, and applied in a variety of practical contexts by earlier ancient musicians and architects.³³ The classifications of column types found on temples and other monumental structures are thus analogous to the different Aristoxenian arrangements of a musical melody, each with its own particular and traditional aesthetic qualities.³⁴

IIb Practical Applications: Theatres

Vitruvius writes that the principles of *harmonia* can also be used to design stone theatres with improved acoustics, and suggests that architects should place variously shaped hollow bronze vessels, *echea*, at specific vertical and

26 V.4.3.

27 IV.1.7–8.

28 See Aristox. *El Harm.* 1.23; also Barker 1989, 142 n. 91.

29 V.4.3.

30 IV.1.10.

31 Aristox. *El Harm.* I.19. Barker 1989, 139 n. 73 explains that one manuscript, followed by Westphal, reads νεώτατον, or ‘most recent’, instead of ἀνώτατον; this alternate reading corresponds perhaps even better with Vitruvius’ characterizations of both the enharmonic *genus* and the Corinthian column.

32 V.4.3.

33 Cf. IV.2.6; V.4.4.

34 Early modern Italian theorists extended this connection between the musical genera and the architectural orders still further. Thus, Barbaro 1567 explains that the diatonic *genus* is *severo* (229), using the same word Vitruvius uses to describe the Doric column; Barbaro also describes it as strong [*fermo*] (229), like the Doric column, which has the most strength [*fermezza*] (164) of all the orders. In his commentary on IV.1, where Vitruvius describes the proportions of the architectural orders, Barbaro explains that modern architects should feel free to adapt their conventions just as musicians often adapt theoretical laws in performance. See Barbaro 1567, 165.

horizontal levels under the audience seats. Each should be tuned so that it will resonate with the sounds coming from the orchestra by sympathetic vibration, at a specific pitch of the musical scale.³⁵ He details different designs for their placement in small and larger theatres.³⁶ The design for the small theatre contains a single row of thirteen vaulted chambers separated by twelve equal intervals, with bronze *echea* placed inside. The *echea* tuned to the highest sounding pitch [*nêê hyperbolaiôn*] are located in the outermost cavities, and from there *echea* tuned to pitches mostly descending by fourths are placed in the inner cavities until the centre is reached, where the *hypatê hypatôn* is set.³⁷ For larger theatres, Vitruvius suggests dividing the theatre into three horizontal rows, one replicating the arrangement of chambers in the small theatre, the other two containing chambers with *echea* emitting pitches from the chromatic and diatonic *genera*. Each of the bronze vessels, as in the design for the small theatre, is arranged with the highest pitches on the ends and the lowest in the middle. Vitruvius is also attentive to the way the various *echea* relate harmonically to each other. He explains that the architect must leave the central position of the chromatic row empty because after the chromatic pitches have been spent in pairs ‘there is no other quality [of note] among the sounds in the chromatic genus that can create harmonies with the rest’.³⁸ In his attention to the positioning and ordering of the *echea*, so that each row of the theatre builds only musical consonances, the architect is not unlike the composer who arranges harmonies within a musical composition. At the end of these directions, Vitruvius invokes Aristoxenus:

[...]If anyone wants to bring these directions to completion with ease, please note the diagram at the end of the book, drawn according to the principles of music. Aristoxenus, with all his dedicated enthusiasm, devised this diagram with the tunings divided by type, and has left us this legacy. And anyone who truly pays attention to his reasoning will be

35 The *echea* thus serve as what modern acousticians call Helmholtz resonators, named after a similar device invented in the 1850s by German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz. A simple demonstration of how a Helmholtz resonator works can be achieved by blowing over the top of an empty bottle, causing the air inside to vibrate and thus emit a pitch. See Ballou 2013, 111.

36 See Landels 1967, Poulle 2000 and Hagel 2009, 251-5.

37 As Hagel 2009, 251 explains, this row is ‘associated with *harmonia*’, referring not to the pitches of the enharmonic *genus*, but rather to the ‘fixed’ notes of the so-called Perfect System. In this row, Vitruvius excludes the lowest pitch, the *proslambanomenos* but includes the *nêê synêmmenôn*.

38 V.5.5. See Landels 1967, 88-89.

more easily capable of using the principles of Nature to design theatres that enhance the voice for the pleasure of the audience.³⁹

Acoustical design relies on the principles of musical composition to enhance auditory experiences.⁴⁰

Vitruvius concedes that he ‘cannot provide any examples in Rome’ of buildings containing *echea*, but points to the ‘provinces of Italy’ and ‘Greek cities’ for evidence of the use of *echea*.⁴¹ The archaeological record is far from conclusive, but some outstanding examples may support this claim.⁴² An account in 1586 by Onorio Belli of the theatre at Lyttus on Knossos describes three rows of cells with thirteen bronze *echea* in each.⁴³ Its location is now unknown, making it impossible to confirm Belli’s account, but excavations at the theatre of Gioisia Ionica, on the coast of Reggio Calabria, have uncovered remains that also appear to be *echea* of the sort Vitruvius described. The original construction of this theatre dates to late second-century or early first-century BCE, although it was converted later in the first century into a Roman theatre. Clay vessels were found in small walled-up niches in the proscenium and back row of seats, arranged so that their mouths faced the orchestra. In the back of the podium wall, thirteen slots containing terracotta tubes terminate at the pavement level. It is unclear whether these vessels were installed in the original theatre or during a later alteration, but either way, there is a remarkable agreement between the arrangement of these vessels and Vitruvius’ *echea*.⁴⁴

A recent acoustical study suggests that Vitruvian *echea* would have been functional. Polychronous et al. (2013) devised a computer simulation model, based on Onorio Belli’s 1586 description of the remains of the theatre of Lyttus, to measure the acoustical effects of bronze *echea*. They found that the *echea* do not significantly amplify the sound, but they have the strong effect of boosting the balance between early and late sound (“Centre Time”).⁴⁵ Spectators sitting nearest the vessels would thus have perceived just the sort of ‘increased clarity [*auctam claritatem*]’ that Vitruvius describes.⁴⁶ Vitruvius obviously did

39 V.5.6. I am indebted to Andrew Barker for pointing out that this diagram is probably not the work of Aristoxenus himself, but an addition by a later writer.

40 Hagel 2009, 255: ‘[...] the specific design reported by Vitruvius perfectly suits the general requirements of Roman Imperial music’.

41 V.5.8.

42 See Saliou 2009, 387–409.

43 See Falkener 1854, 19.

44 See Sear 2006, 146 and Saliou 2009, 397–399.

45 Polychronopoulos 2013, 67.

46 V.5.3.

not have modern acoustical tools at his disposal to test his claims; instead, he justifies his argument by analogy and extrapolation, based on his view that the tasks of the musician and architect are interrelated and fundamentally similar. As Vitruvius explains about instrument building:

Nature, therefore, distinguished the intervals of tones and half tones and tetrachords in the voice, defined their terms by quantitative measures, and established their qualities through certain distinct modes. Using what has been established by nature, the craftsmen who make musical instruments plan their finished construction with an eye to their effectiveness at producing harmony.⁴⁷

Like the maker of musical instruments, the architect should be attentive to the musical laws codified by Aristoxenus, so as to 'be more easily capable of using the principles of nature to design theatres that enhance the voice for the pleasure of the audience'.⁴⁸ Likewise, musical performers 'when they want to sing in a higher key, turn toward the stage doors and thus avail themselves of the harmonic support that these can provide for their voices'.⁴⁹ The architect constructing a theatre of masonry, stone, or marble, which do not resonate like wood, similarly uses structural contrivances—the *echea*—to exploit the theatre's acoustical qualities, so that the voice 'poured forth from the stage[,] ... strikes the hollows of the individual vessels on contact, stirring up an increased clarity and a harmonic complement to its own tone'.⁵⁰

The laws of *harmonia* are also necessary for determining the basic theoretical framework that governs the geometrical blueprint of the theatre. As Vitruvius explains in V.6.1:

Whatever the size of the lower perimeter, locate a centre point and draw a circle around it, and in this circle draw four triangles with equal sides and at equal intervals. These should just touch the circumference of the

47 V.4.4.

48 V.5.6.

49 V.5.7.

50 V.5.3. Vitruvius also discusses the importance of good acoustical design for enhancing public speaking. In V.2.2, he explains that the senate house should be: 'encircled by cornices of fine woodwork or white stucco, exactly halfway up. Without these cornices, the voices of those debating in the senate house, carried upward, cannot be understood by their listeners. But when the walls are encircled by cornices, the voice, as it rises from below, will be delayed before it carries upward on the air and dissipates; it will be intelligible to the ears.'

circle. By these same triangles, astronomers calculate the harmonies of the stars [*convenientia astrorum*] and the twelve heavenly signs in musical terms [*ex musica*].

Vitruvius is inspired by Greek philosophical tradition to believe that astronomy and music theory are founded on analogous numerical and proportional relationships;⁵¹ he has already explained in I.1.16 that '[...] astronomers and musicians discuss certain things in common: the harmony of the stars, the intervals of squares and triangles, that is, the [musical] intervals of fourths and fifths [...]'. The theatre should thus reflect the harmonies of the cosmos in its physical dimensions while also enhancing the musicality of the audible harmonies of theatrical recitation and musical performance.⁵² A well-measured architectural structure, as Vitruvius here shows, should reflect *mousikê* in ways that are perceptible to both the ear and the eye.

IIC Practical Applications: *Machinatio*

The laws of *harmonia* also play an important role in the construction and maintenance of mechanical devices used in war. When discussing the construction of *ballistae*, catapults, and *scorpiones*, which Vitruvius first introduces in I.1.8, he uses musical explanations to describe how these machines should be structured, expressly comparing the catapults to stringed instruments:

Next the ends of the ropes are threaded in through the spring holes [*foramina*] of the capitals, and carried across to the other side, and then they are fastened around the windlasses and wound around them, so that when the ropes are stretched over them by the levers, when struck with the hand, each of them will give off a corresponding tone. Then they are secured with wedges at the spring holes so that they cannot uncoil. Thus, carried across to the other side of the capital, they are stretched with handspikes on windlasses until they make an identical sound, and in this way catapults are adjusted to tone [*ad sonitum . . . temperantur*] by

⁵¹ Saliou 2009, 225.

⁵² Poulle 2000 suggests by way of a comparison to Plut. *De anim.* 1029b that the *echea* at the Theatre of Mummius Achaicus are arrayed so as to effect "a musical reproduction of the sky as it is displayed during a Moon eclipse" (37).

propping with wedges according to the musical sense of hearing [*musicis auditionibus*].⁵³

He uses the phrase *ad sonitum . . . temperantur* to explain the system for adjusting a siege engine so that it will project a missile as intended; the connection to tuning a stringed harp or lyre is explicit. In I.1.8, Vitruvius writes about the ‘hemitone spring holes’ [*foramina hemitoniorum*] through which the ‘twisted sinew cords’ [*e nervo torti funes*] must be stretched. The word *foramina* also refers to the hole at the end of the organ pipe in X.8.5, and *nervus* is the common word for a musical string on an instrument. Vitruvius describes himself in I.Praef.2 as a famous authority on ballistic machinery, employed by Augustus to outfit catapults and repair other war machines [*ad apparationem ballistarum et scorpionum reliquorumque tormentorum refectionem*]; presumably, he speaks from years of experience when he counsels that these devices must be tuned to the right pitches like musical instruments and argues that the accuracy of their adjustment is best measured according to the evidence of a musically sensitive ear.

At the end of *De Architectura*, in X.8, Vitruvius turns to the design of actual musical instruments, detailing how to construct a water organ [*hydraulus*, in Greek usually *hydraulis*] that follows principles of Greek music theory. The *hydraulus* was frequently played in Rome and was particularly admired for its beautiful tone and powerful sound: Cicero likens its sound to the beauty the eye enjoys when beholding flowers, and some sources describe similar organs as audible more than a mile away.⁵⁴ The Vitruvian *hydraulus* has far greater performance capabilities than many earlier versions described by Ctesibius and Heron of Alexandria, containing as many as six or eight ranks and enabling the performer to perform in ‘all the different varieties of tunings [*modulorum*] in music’.⁵⁵ The multiple rows of pipes are embedded within a headpiece fitted over the hydraulic mechanism called the *kanôn mousikos*—*kanôn* is the same term used to refer to the monochord used by theorists of the Pythagorean school to calculate musical intervals. The *kanôn mousikos* of the *hydraulus* here serves a practical function, finally making the laws of *harmonia* that are also useful for architectural theory audible to all through musical performance.

53 X.12.2.

54 Cic. *Tusc.* III.18.43. See Perrot 1965, Hyde 1938, and Hagel 2009, 364 for more about the *hydraulus* in antiquity and a description of the remains of a water organ found at Aquincum.

55 X.8.6. See Hyde 1938 and West 1992, 114–8.

Beyond these two practical examples, however, *harmonia* plays a fundamental role in the construction of the basic principles of mechanical theory, or *machinatio*. Vitruvius proposes that *machinatio* requires the emulation of nature and physics in order to develop mechanisms that make life convenient, and that the most important natural phenomenon to emulate is ‘the revolutions of circles which the Greeks call *kuklikê kinêsis* [κυκλικὴν κίνησιν].’⁵⁶ Vitruvius identifies the primary source of natural *kuklikê kinêsis* as the rotational patterns of the cosmos:

Every mechanism has been created by nature and devised with the rotation of the cosmos as its teacher and governess. First let us take note and observe the continuous nature of the sun, the moon, and the five stars; if these had not been geared to rotate, we would not have had the alternations of light and darkness all this time, nor the maturation of the crops. Therefore, when our forebears [*maiores*] had observed that this is how things are, they took examples from nature and imitating them, spurred by these divine exemplars, they achieved the development of life’s conveniences. Thus they arranged some things to be more convenient by making machines and their rotations, and some instruments, and thus what they found useful in practice they took care to improve, step by step, with the help of study, craftsmanship, and tradition.⁵⁷

Vitruvius here, in order to be as emphatic as possible, cites the two authorities he believes are most important—the *maiores* and nature itself. *Machinatio*, then, is the art of devising architectural elements that exploit natural phenomena and physics, and the rotation of celestial bodies is the phenomenon that serves as the primary source of inspiration.

56 X.1.1. See ps.-Aristot. *Mech.* 847a for a strikingly similar description of *kuklikê kinêsis* and mechanics: ‘Remarkable things occur in accordance with nature, the cause of which is unknown, and others occur contrary to nature, which are produced by skill for the benefit of mankind. For in many cases nature produces effects against our advantage; for nature always acts consistently and simply, but our advantage changes in many ways. When, then we have to produce an effect contrary to nature, we are at a loss, because of the difficulty, and require skill. Therefore we call that part of skill which assists such difficulties, a device’. The natural movement that the skilled mechanical designer must exploit is circular motion, as explained in 847b: ‘[n]ow the original cause of all such [mechanical] phenomena is the circle, and this is natural[...].’ The correspondence between this passage and Vitruvius’ similar discussion in *De Architectura* was noted as far back as in the Renaissance (see Barbaro 1556).

57 X.1.4.

But as Vitruvius also knows from his study of Greek philosophy, the rotation of the celestial bodies themselves is governed by music. As discussed, Vitruvius has cited these theories in both I.1.16 and in V.6.1, explaining that the geometrical arrangement of the theatre resembles a map of the musical harmonies of the cosmos.⁵⁸ Thus, the motion of orbiting planetary bodies, which Vitruvius posits as the main source of *machinatio*, is in turn commanded by *mousikê*, or music theory. The natural world is a great machine, one that makes music, and in that respect it is both the source for all architectural design principles, and the proof of their effectiveness.

III The Cosmic *sambuca*

In VI.1, Vitruvius presents a curious analogy likening the natural world to a perfectly tuned Greek *sambuca*.⁵⁹ By transposing the triangular shape of a *sambuca* onto a map of the universe, and orienting it so that the lower strings rest in the north and the higher pitches in the south, Vitruvius finds that ‘the whole plan of the cosmos, because of its inclination, has been composed as consonantly [*consonantissime*] as possible according to harmony by the modulation of the sun’.⁶⁰ This model explains the different physical features of the Northern and Southern races: those from Northern nations have ‘moist tones of voice’ that resonate specifically at the lowest pitches [*ad hypatas et proslambanomenon*]; those from the South ‘express the slender sound of their voices in the highest tones [*paranetarum <netarum>que acutissimam sonitus vocis perficiunt tenuitatem*]’. The Romans, located ‘at the centre of the cosmos’, have a ‘middling pitch to their voice in conversation’.⁶¹ Since they possess both the most temperate voices and the most temperate climate, Romans are ideally situated to take command over all nations: ‘the divine intelligence established the state of the Roman People as an outstanding and balanced region—so that it could take command over the earthly orb’.⁶² The entire cosmos is thus laid out according to musical principles, ‘as, for example, in a musical diagram

58 See Section IIb and Saliou 2009, 225.

59 West 1992, 76 describes the shape of the *sambuca* as a “primitive arched harp”; see also Mathiesen 1999, 275–280.

60 VI.1.6. My translation here differs from Rowland 1999, who suggests ‘by modulating the sun’.

61 VI.1.7.

62 VI.1.11.

[*uti in diagrammate musico*].⁶³ This image of the cosmos expresses how all of what could loosely be termed human ‘architectures’—including the structures of anatomy, physiology, and even social interactions between different races—are constructed according to the laws of music theory, reinforcing the relevance of *musice* for architectural theory and practice.

What is Vitruvius’ source for this analogy? This passage does not correspond directly to any extant earlier writings.⁶⁴ One possible interpretation is that Vitruvius was alluding to a Greek musical theoretical concept, often adopted by the Aristoxenists, which explains that the central pitch of the musical scale, or *mesê*, is the ‘leader [*arkhê*]’ or ‘guide [*hêgemôn*]’ because on the string instrument it served as the fundamental pitch to which all others could be tuned in harmony.⁶⁵ This provides a logical explanation—albeit a rather unusual one—for why the Roman people who speak at a ‘middling’ pitch matching the intonation of the central string of the *sambuca* are apt commanders.

In this elaboration of the Aristoxenian concept of the *mesê*, Vitruvius also appears to draw on the ideas and writings of Greek philosophers, including Hippocrates and Aristotle. Both philosophers would have been included in the education of any sophisticated Roman: Hippocrates is expressly identified in I.1.13 as one of the authors in the educational program Vitruvius prescribes for the ideal architect. Like Hippocrates, Vitruvius believes that buildings should be oriented so as best to accommodate the particular vicissitudes of hot and cold winds. He also follows Hippocrates’ concept of ‘environmental determinism’,⁶⁶ dictating that physical differences and intellectual capabilities are shaped by the qualities of local airs and waters. In Parts V and VI of *On Airs, Waters, and Places*, Hippocrates argues that people who live in cities designed to accommodate breezes in summer and the rising sun in winter, and to use clean water sources, are likely to have a superior temperament and intellect, fewer diseases, and easier childbirths.⁶⁷ Dwellers in cities not designed to complement the airs, waters, and orientations of their local environment are pale, weak and subject to disease.⁶⁸ The orientation of a city also affects the pitches at which its inhabitants speak: those from well-designed cities have voices that are ‘clear’ [*λαμπρόφωνοί*], a timbral quality associated with higher pitches, while those living in unhealthy conditions have ‘low’ voices [*βαρυφών[οί]*].

63 VI.1.7.

64 See Rowland 1999, 256 and Callebaut 2004, 82.

65 See Hagel 2009, 117–22.

66 See Isaac 2006, 60–69.

67 Hippocr. *Peri aer.* V.4.

68 Ibid., VI.3.

Vitruvius also seems to follow Aristotle when he posits a metaphorical connection between the sound of a stringed instrument and the human voice. Aristotle explains in *De Anima* 420b: ‘Now voice is a kind of sound belonging to something alive, for no inanimate thing has a voice, but is said to do so by way of a metaphor, as are the *aulos*, the *lyra*, and all other inanimate things that are capable of prolongation, melody, and articulation. They are like voice, because voice has these features too’.⁶⁹

It is impossible to be certain whether Vitruvius read the original texts of either Hippocrates or Aristotle, especially since it was common for Latin authors to rely on summaries in Latin of earlier Greek texts. Some commentators hypothesise that the theories in VI.1 are drawn from a Roman writers such as Varro or Frontinus,⁷⁰ and there are striking similarities between VI.1.4 and Pliny’s *Natural History* II.189.⁷¹ Nevertheless, as Callebat concludes, evidence often suggests that Vitruvius is also relying on Greek texts.⁷² Either way, whether Vitruvius tended to read his sources in the original Greek or in Latin translation, he relies on a tradition of reading Greek authorities that reflects his education in the elite system of study he refers to as *encyklios disciplina*, and whose intellectual models were Greek.

IV Vitruvius and the *encyklios disciplina*

The term *encyklios disciplina*, as Doody 2009 explains, is linked to the Greek term *enkyklios paideia* and is also discussed in other Latin encyclopaedic texts, including Pliny’s *Natural History* and Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria*. While in Hellenistic Greece it may simply have referred to the ordinary educational system for young men, comprising a fixed set of disciplines and philosophical areas of inquiry meant to be studied in a specific order, by Vitruvius’ time it was no longer an everyday term and required definition.⁷³ In I.1.3, Vitruvius outlines the fields of enquiry that every architect must study:

69 Arist. *De an.* 420b. See also ps.-Aristot. *Pr.* XIV, which discusses the effects of climate on bodily and mental capabilities, and *Pr.* XI, which discusses the effects of bodily temperature on the emission of pitch.

70 See Callebat 2004, 71.

71 Callebat 2004, 72.

72 Cf. Callebat 2004, 74.

73 Doody 2009, 13.

To be educated, he must be an experienced draftsman, well versed in geometry, familiar with history, a diligent student of philosophy, know music, have some acquaintance with medicine, understand the rulings of legal experts, and have a clear grasp of astronomy and the ways of Heaven.⁷⁴

He goes on in I.1.13 to cite the authorities in each of these fields, naming Aristarchus (philology), Myron and Polycleitus (sculpture), Hippocrates (medicine), and Aristoxenus (music)—all of them Greek. Although his list of subjects and authors is so vast as to be ‘aspirational’;⁷⁵ in I.1.14-16 he explains that the architect need not ‘achieve full mastery’ in all different fields; this is because the *rationes* of every discipline rely on the same set of common principles. He uses music as an example, showing how it shares theories in common with both medicine and astronomy. The implication is clear: if the theoretical rules of music can be applicable to fields as different as these, they can be applicable to architecture as well.

In Augustan Rome, this system of education was available only to men of elite status; as Masterson 2004 suggests, Vitruvius’ description of the architect’s education was part of “a strategy that made the architect an estimable man, someone to be taken seriously”.⁷⁶ Architecture, as a paid profession “in the opinion of the elite, was staining and servile”,⁷⁷ but by describing an education “whose authorizing power both makes him impressive intellectually and assimilates him to his social betters, [Vitruvius] consolidates his claim to being an estimable personage”.⁷⁸ This educational system was not intended to prepare young minds for a life of labor or intellectual struggle, but rather for the ‘pleasure’ to be enjoyed by philosophical reflection and inquiry. The architect trained in the well-rounded *encyklios disciplina* is the intellectual equal of any member of elite society, equipped to rise above the indignity of manual labor and perhaps even to enter the ranks of the upper class.

As Masterson shows, VI.Praef. allows Vitruvius to “focus and negotiate further” these key issues of status, pay, and pleasure, as moderated by his discussion of the ideal *encyklios disciplina*, by telling the story of the Greek

74 I.1.3.

75 Doody 2009, 13.

76 Masterson 2004, 391.

77 Ibid., 388.

78 Ibid., 393. Doody 2009, 13: “the more impressive the breadth of *enkyklios paideia*, the more exalted the subject [must be].”

philosopher Aristippus.⁷⁹ Washed up on the beach of Rhodes after a shipwreck, Aristippus discovers a series of geometric diagrams drawn on the sand. He heads straight to the gymnasium to engage in philosophical debate, where he is rewarded with gifts. When Aristippus is asked to return, he quips that all men should be given enough possessions [*possessiones*] to be so fortunate as to be shipwrecked in Rhodes. These *possessiones*, Vitruvius writes, are education: for he who is educated is a 'citizen in every country'.⁸⁰ Vitruvius thanks his parents for educating him 'in accordance with the spirit of the Athenian law' in an art 'that cannot be mastered without education in letters and comprehensive learning in every field'.⁸¹ Vitruvius delights to find that education is 'the greatest reward of all: that there is no need to have more, for true wealth is to want nothing'; thus, he never strove in his field to make money, but simply to pursue 'modest means and a good reputation'.⁸² As Masterson 2004 shows, Vitruvius proposes an equivalence between the architect and the philosopher, who both hold intellectual *possessiones* granted to them by Greek education; the architect who works because he delights in it attains a higher status than that of the mere craftsman, who must struggle for pay and is skilled only with his hands.

The cosmic *sambuca* analogy of VI.1 immediately follows this passage, and it illuminates the important role music plays in the *corpus* of intellectual disciplines included in the *encyclios disciplina*. Just as any student of *encyclios disciplina* should do in a philosophical debate, Vitruvius cites and combines a wide range of Greek authorities—and, in this case, arrives at an idiosyncratic vision of cosmic order arranged according to the principles of music theory. Music is a key part of Vitruvius' conception of cosmic and architectural forms because it is also a key part of a Greek-style education. Music also shares its theoretical principles in common with a wide variety of disciplines—including architecture, as the whole of *De Architectura* clearly demonstrates. Vitruvius' treatise thus offers a unique expression of the essential role of music theory in ancient Roman intellectual life, as a field of primary interest to architects and others who are well-educated, able to discover within music the secrets to the architectural forms that they both encounter in nature and create themselves.

79 Ibid., 387.

80 VI.Praef.2.

81 VI.Praef.4.

82 VI.Praef.4-5.

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Ethnicity and Musical Identity in the Lyric Landscape of Early Cyprus

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Abstract

This paper re-examines several standing assumptions about the lyre-types of early Iron Age (IA) Cyprus and how these should be correlated with historical and cultural phases on the island, specifically the pre-Greek ('Eteocypriot') Late Bronze Age (LBA); Aegean immigration in the twelfth and eleventh centuries; and the so-called Phoenician colony period from the ninth century. I introduce an important new piece of LBA evidence connecting the island to the lyric culture of the Levant; challenge the usual 'Aegean' interpretation of IA round-based lyres; and reassess the evidence of the so-called Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls, which exhibit a basic bifurcation between 'eastern' and 'western' morphologies (as traditionally interpreted). A clearer sense of Cypriot musical identity, as distinct from Aegean and Phoenician, emerges, and new methodological guidelines are developed for future investigations.

Keywords

Cyprus – Aegean – Phoenicia – symposium bowl (*patera*, *phiale*) – lyre – ethnicity – identity – music

The Current Picture¹

Ancient Cypriot music iconography has never been completely assembled, thanks to hundreds of first-millennium terracotta-votive musicians, with

1 I thank the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, where I began this investigation as Annual Professor (January-May 2012); and the Cyprus American Archaeological Research

some Late Bronze Age (LBA) antecedents, in collections around the world.² Substantial subsets of the material, however, have been surveyed, with several outstanding representations much cited and illustrated.³ Prominent are depictions of lyres, a class of instrument whose intimate involvement with cultic practice, ethnic expression, and the maintenance of cultural memory in the surrounding regions—Aegean, Levant, North Syria, Anatolia—is well known.⁴ These comparanda justify a focused study of the island's lyric landscape, as will be seen.⁵

But the picture is considerably complicated by historical developments in the Iron Age (IA). Following the 'Great Collapse' (c.1200) and the demise of Alashiya, which most scholars identify with all or part of LBA Cyprus, Aegean immigration during the twelfth-eleventh centuries was intensive enough that Greek emerged as the island's majority language by the Archaic period; even Amathus, where 'Eteocypriote' inscriptions persisted until the fourth century, had kings with Greek names. Nevertheless the material record, thoroughly hybrid by the tenth century,⁶ suggests a fairly general Greco-Cypriot cultural fusion by c.900 when Phoenician groups, drawn more or less by Troodos copper,

Institute, where I continued as CAORC/CAARI Fellow (May-June). All drawings are by Glynnis Fawkes.

- 2 These musician figures may be noted for future research: Karageorghis 1991-1999, II (Late Cypriot-Cypro-Geometric), A(vi)1-2, GD1-6, LGA[iii]: 5-7, LGB1, LGC1, LGC9; III (Cypro-Archaic), 171, 174; IV (Cypro-Archaic): I[v]1-8, I[vi]1-7, I[vii]1-19, II[i]5, III[i]1-10 (ring dances); Va (Cypro-Archaic), I[vii]1, I[ix]1-36, I[x]3, I[xi]h.60-6, I[xi]i.67-80, II[xiii]2, 4-5, II[xiv]1-5, II[xv]1-71; Vb (Cypro-Archaic), Ch. VI, 59, Ch. VII, Ch. VIII[i]1-3, VIII[ii]4, VIII[iii]5-54. Broken ring-dances from Enkomi with presumed central musician: see n. 43. Many more are in individual museum collections and site publications, including: Myres 1914, 338-9, no. 2241-56 (ring-dances, Cesnola collection); Monloup 1984, 134, no. 512-13 (Archaic frame-drummers, Salamis); Yon & Caubet 1988, 4-5, no. 10-12, pl. II (female lyrists, Lapethos); Monloup 1994, 109-117 (Classical female lyrists, Salamis); Vandervondelen 1994.
- 3 General iconographic surveys: Aign 1963, 60-74; Karageorghis 1977, 216; Hermary 1989, 387-93 (Louvre sculptures); Meerschaert 1991; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 148-51, no. 227-237, 239 (coroplastic, Cesnola Collection); Karageorghis 2006, 78-84, 101-13, 140-52, 217-18; Fariselli 2007 (Phoenician material); Knapp 2011. Lyres: Monloup 1994, 109-112 (female terracottas, Salamis); Lawergren 1998, 49-51; Kolotourou 2002; Paleocosta 1998 (lyre-iconography). Double-pipe and other winds: Flourentzos 1992. Framed drums/percussion: Averett 2002-2004; Kolotourou 2005; Kolotourou 2007. Dance: Lefèvre-Novaro 2007, *pass.*; Fariselli 2010 (Phoenician focus). General studies (use with caution): Zarmas 1975; Jager 2000.
- 4 Stauder 1957; Stauder 1961; Aign 1963; Collon 1980-1983; Maas & Snyder 1989; Norborg 1995; Lawergren 1998; Franklin 2006.
- 5 This is not deny the importance of other Cypriot instrument types, esp. double-pipe and framedrum (see n. 3), nor to suggest that the lyric subculture existed in a musical vacuum.
- 6 Knapp 2008.

settled in various places, with Kition and Amathus the main epicenters.⁷ Formal Tyrian political control of Kition, and perhaps elsewhere, probably first emerged in the later eighth century as an extension of Assyrian provincial structure.⁸ The inland sites of Idalion and Tamassos fell to Kition in the early fifth and mid-fourth centuries respectively, while rulers with Phoenician names ruled Salamis periodically under the Persians.⁹

One or both of these two cultural trends—Aegean and Phoenician immigration—have been connected with a basic morphological dichotomy, observable in the island's rich lyric evidence, between:

- 1) round-based, symmetrical lyres first attested in an eleventh-century vase painting (*v. infra*), and then regularly in vase painting, votive figurines, and other media; these clearly resemble (n.b.) early Aegean specimens from the LBA to c.600 (and sporadically beyond);
- 2) flat-based, often asymmetrical lyres appearing in the Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls (*phiálai*)¹⁰ between the ninth and sixth centuries (*v. infra*); these adhere to a broad type going back to third-millennium Syro-Levantine contexts, convincingly correlated with the word *knr*¹¹ and variants in lexical evidence from roughly the same geographical and temporal range (Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, Emar, Hattusha, Egypt, Bible, and 'Greek').¹²

This apparent coincidence of chronology and morphology is systematically elaborated by Lawergren in his important *Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and their Global Lyrical Contexts* (1998):

Cyprus had both Eastern and Western lyres. Round-based lyres flourished ca. 1100-800 B.C.E.... in the wake of Aegean influences... The round-based lyres were followed by thin lyres... as a result of Phoenician influences beginning ca. 850 B.C.E., but a few Western lyres continued

7 Phoenician expansion generally: Bunnens 1979; Lipinski 2004. Cyprus specifically: Gjerstad 1979; Reyes 1994, 18-21, 23-6.

8 Smith 2008, 261, 264-74, noting that political control of Kition may not have been *continuous* down to the fifth century.

9 Smith 2008, 274-5.

10 *Pi-a-la* (φιάλα) is inscribed on one of the Kourion bowls: Markoe 1985, 73 (Cyn).

11 I leave the root unvocalized intentionally. A Canaanite form (shift of *ā* to *ō/ū*) is attested c.1200 by *Pap. Anastasi IV* (Gardiner 1937, 47-8 no. 18, line 12.2); the same shift characterizes Hebrew *kinnōr*, 'Greek' κινύρα, and must be posited for the undoubted Phoenician cognate.

12 Lawergren 1998, 58-9.

through this period. Strong Greek influences reemerged in the second half of the sixth century B.C.E.... and a very large number of round-based lyres were represented during the fifth century.¹³

Lawergren, while tacitly beginning from a presumed lack of LBA representations, prudently avoids drawing definite conclusions about the pre-Greek period. Deger-Jalkotzky more boldly suggested that lyres, previously *unknown*, are an ethnic marker of Aegean influx (for her other morphological criteria, *v. infra*).¹⁴ Comparable is the assumption that the Cypriot lyres are but a variety of 'Greek stringed instruments'.¹⁵ Fariselli, in her valuable recent study of Phoenician music and dance, also assumes a basic contrast between Phoenician and 'Aegean' lyre-shapes in discussing the *phiáilai*;¹⁶ but what 'Aegean' means in eighth-seventh century cultural terms, and within the iconographic repertoire of the symposium bowls, is not determined.

I too followed the dualistic view in a premature discussion of both the symposium bowls and the legendary Kinyras whose kinship to the Divine Kinnāru-lyre of Ugarit is now beyond doubt, although the circumstances of his arrival in Cyprus, and eventual metamorphosis into the island's central culture-hero, await full explication.¹⁷ But closer examination has convinced me that the current picture is incomplete. A crucial problem is the unevenness of the archaeological record, with a general dearth of LBA music-iconography. An *alyros* pre-Greek Cyprus is *a priori* unlikely given the many third-millennium Syro-Levantine and Mesopotamian specimens.¹⁸ And the LBA lexical evidence shows the word *knr* and/or associated morphology extended beyond the Syro-Levantine heartland (Egypt, Hattusha, and a Hurrian hybrid form at Emar).¹⁹ That the *knr*—word and/or instrument—was equally known on contemporary Cyprus would perfectly accord with the pre-Greek island's cosmopolitanism, which already finds clear musical expression in several Mesopotamianizing *harps* appearing on thirteenth-century bronze-stands from Kourion.²⁰ These

13 Lawergren 1998, 49.

14 Deger-Jalkotzky 1994, esp. 21-2.

15 Maas & Snyder 1989, 8, making the point that they are the only representations from the Dark Age.

16 Fariselli 2007, 13 nn. 15-16, 19, 23, with further analysis of dance in Fariselli 2010.

17 This paper supersedes Franklin 2006, 44-5. Kinyras generally: Baurain 1980; relationship to Ugaritic Kinnāru: Ribichini 1982; Franklin in press-b. I shall treat the problem fully in Franklin forthcoming.

18 See n. 4.

19 Lawergren 1998, 58-9.

20 Franklin in press-b, with references.

very instruments, admittedly, have been contrasted with the round-based 1A lyres in attempting to distinguish two phases of Cypriot ethnomusical history.²¹ The Kourion stands certainly do give a vital glimpse of pre-Greek musical conceptions, and bear importantly on the Kinyras question.²² Yet it need not follow that lyres *per se* were a novelty of the 1A. Recall that the personal name Kinyras itself (< *kinýra*) is twice attested further west at Mycenaean Pylos—once in a priestly context quite in keeping with its implications.²³

Clearly even a single lucky find could alter the picture significantly. In this paper I shall first present a key piece of LBA evidence which has been overlooked, documenting at least one lyric dimension of pre-Greek Cyprus. I shall then reassess the Aegeanness of the island's round-based lyre-representations. Finally we shall consider the implications of our new evidence and interpretations for understanding, in broad cultural terms, the morphological 'confrontation' seen in the *phiálai*.

A Lost 'Daughter of Kinyras' in the Cyprus Museum

A lovely but broken faience bowl, unprovenanced but dated by stylistic criteria to the fourteenth-thirteenth century (LC II), has been on display in the Cyprus Museum for many years (Figure 1).²⁴ It was tersely described by P. Dikaios in the 1961 guide:

Remarkable whitish faience bowl covered with blue-green glaze, probably a local imitation of an Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty prototype. Painted ornamentation on the interior: two human figures, one dancing and, to their left, Bes; in the field, conventional trees, below, bird and fish. Fourteenth century B.C.²⁵

The bowl belongs to a larger class of 'Egyptian or Egyptianizing pieces [sc. which] consist chiefly of blue green or white shallow bowls . . . and scenes with roughly drawn fish, boats, dancing and instrument-playing figures, hieroglyphs,

21 Sherratt 1992, 336 (*v. infra*).

22 Franklin in press-b.

23 Franklin 2006, 47; Franceschetti 2008, 313-15.

24 Nicosia, Inv. G63; h. 4.2 cm, diam. 13.2. The best image known to me is Karageorghis 1976, 178 fig. 137; also Dikaios 1961, 153-4, no. 6, pl. XXXIII.5; Peltenburg 1968, 303, includes it among his unpublished specimens (vii).

25 Dikaios 1961, 153-4.

and lotus flowers'.²⁶ The origin of these bowls has long posed a puzzle, being variously held as Egyptian imports, Egyptianizing objects from a Canaanite workshop, or local Cypriot imitations of Egyptian styles and scenes.²⁷ Some see this elusiveness as their most striking feature, with more than 130 faience vases and fragments known from LBA Cyprus reflecting 'the cross currents of cultural influences on the island during this period of eclecticism as no other single body of material does'.²⁸

Dikaïos declined to identify the left-hand figure, whose interpretation is made difficult by several breaks in the bowl. Degradation of the glaze along the shard-edges has endowed them, and hence the join lines, with a darkish color very close to the lines of the figure itself, over which they crisscross confusingly.²⁹ Nevertheless, patient observation and continual reference to the underside of the dish, where the breaks may be clearly distinguished, enable a confident, if not entirely complete, reconstruction.³⁰ She is in fact a musician who plays for the dancing figure, while the musical god Bes oversees the performance.³¹ She is a '*kinyrístria*', wielding a lyre of Levantine type.

Parts of the soundbox can just be detected. Two give away details, however, are quite clear. First is the slight incurve to the arms where they join the crossbar. There is also a largish, bird-head finial on the right end of the crossbar, and perhaps faint traces of another on the left; there are close parallels in Hittite and Egyptian art, one of the latter featuring a lyre-girl with a Bes tattoo.³² Two tassels appear to be attached to the yoke; a similar detail is found on lutes in

26 Foster 1979, 50 and n. 316. It is not clear whether she interprets our bowl as a musician, or has in mind the lute-player bowls (*v. infra*).

27 See esp. Peltenburg 1986, 155-61 (158 for dating), noting lack of stylistic deviations which might betray Cypriot manufacture; he challenges their critical reception as 'poor, local copies of Egyptian work' (Peltenburg 1972, p. 131); Levantine workshop(s) are considered possible, but less likely (contrast Peltenburg 1968, 143-51). But note that other types *can* be attributed to a Cypriot faience industry: Foster 1979, 49-55; Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 62.

28 Peltenburg 1972, 129.

29 Cf. Peltenburg 1968, 304 (bowl no. 5d): 'To the left a female with calf-length billowing robes. She seems to hold something over a papyrus which grows from the boat, but the brown designs are too fugitive here to make it out'.

30 I thank Glynnis Fawkes for sharp observations and drawings during a museum visit on May 17, 2012. The dish is displayed vertically, so both top and bottom may be examined.

31 Bes and music: Hickmann 1961, 36-9 figs. 15-17; Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26, 57-8 and fig. 32, 110, 116-19 *passim*, with fig. 72.

32 Hittite: Inandik vase. Egypt: Hickmann 1961, 2.1, 32-3 fig. 9; Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26 (nineteenth dynasty, Bes tattoo; bird-finial one end only); 108 fig. 64 (twenty-first or twenty-second dynasty); Schuol 2004, Taf. 18, no. 52.1, 52.3-4.

Akhenaten's harem and in Hittite/Neo-Hittite representations.³³ Our lyrist has a short cape, paralleled by female musicians on a Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowl and a cognate musical procession/dance scene in a North Syrian (NS) ivory pyxis from Nimrud.³⁴ She also holds her instrument horizontally, again as usual in Canaanite and New Kingdom representations.³⁵ The exact position of the player's arms, and indeed whether both are shown, has eluded repeated autopsy and comparison.

This musical reading is corroborated by several closely related faience specimens of similar date. One, said to be from near Idalion, is well preserved and shows another Egyptian(izing) female figure, in diaphanous dress, playing a lute against a background of lotus-blossoms.³⁶ A very similar dish in Leiden has a lute-girl with a Bes-tattoo on her thigh.³⁷ A third lutenist, from a tomb at Maroni and heavily effaced, may be reconstructed through a close parallel from Egypt itself.³⁸ While all three scenes are Egyptian(izing), the Levantine lyre shows that the corpus is to be associated specifically with the international musical groups cultivated in the New Kingdom.³⁹ The myth that Kinyras' daughters, having offended Aphrodite, slept with foreigners and ended their lives in Egypt, may be relevant here.⁴⁰ Wherever these bowls were actually manufactured, our *kinyrístria*—or at least her instrument—is ultimately 'from' the Levant.

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- 33 Egypt: Manniche 1991, 86 fig. 50. Hittite/Neo-Hittite: Schuol 2004, Taf. 4, no. 11 and 15, 7 no. 26, 9 no. 29, 11 no. 35, 12 no. 37-8. With lutes the question may arise whether these tassels are not rather the ends of strings. Even when their position at the end of the neck makes this possible, they are sufficiently long that one must suppose that they have been worked into an adornment (cf. Schuol 2004, 59). In other cases the tassels come from the middle of the neck.
- 34 Bowl: Markoe 1985, Cy13 (Kourion), where the rightmost musician of a trio (probably double-piper) clearly has the cape; Culican 1982, 15 and n. 6, detected one on the second (lyrist) as well, and noted the Nimrud bowl (Mallowan 1966, no. 531; assignment to NS group: Barnett 1935, 189).
- 35 Megiddo lyrist: Frankfort 1970, 270-1. Egypt: Manniche 1991, 43 fig. 21, 86 fig. 50, 89 fig. 52, 91 fig. 54 (twice); also Wegner 1950, Taf. 7a, 9a-b (the dimensions of 9b being close to our lyrist). The *vertical* position is seen in Manniche 1991, 48 fig. 26, 53 no. 30.
- 36 New York, MMA inv. no. 74.51.5074 = Cesnola 1903, pl. CVIII, no. 4 = Myres 1914, 274, no. 1574 = Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 63 no. 99. Also Aign 1963 61, fig. 26; Peltenburg 1968, 307.
- 37 RMO Leiden, inv. AD 14, 18th-19th dynasty.
- 38 London, BM (18)98.12-1.145, from Maroni, tomb 17: Johnson 1980, 24, no. 136, pl. XXVI.136 = Peltenburg 1986, 158 no. 35 = Peltenburg 2007, fig. 5b.
- 39 See e.g. Hickmann 1961, 2.1, 30-1 (fig. 8). For the court of Akhenaten: Green 1992.
- 40 [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.182, with the parallel in Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 10.18.

The cautious will warn that ‘pots are not people’—that the dish was perhaps valued for its exotic imagery, and so need say nothing about contemporary Cypriot music. But the dishes’ relevance to musical reality is vividly support by the processed tortoise-shells found aboard the fourteenth-century Uluburun wreck.⁴¹ R. Eichmann and S. Psaroudakes have concluded that these were intended for Egyptian-style lutes like those of the faience dishes.⁴² The shells corroborate, materially, the circulation of musical technology suggested by iconography and the lexical evidence. They join the ship’s cargo as a micro-cosm of LBA palatial exchange—recalling that Cyprus was, if not the ship’s origin, at least a major point of call.

Round-Based Lyres between East and West

Our ‘lost daughter’ is the clearest proof one can reasonably expect that pre-Greek Cyprus was not a lyric blank canvas. Yet by reminding us that the absence of evidence is a risky foundation for historical constructions, she bids us wonder further whether she herself represents but one element of a richer landscape which remains as yet otherwise invisible. Consider for instance the hundred or so broken terracotta figurines from the LBA sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi; while these clearly predict the IA votive dance-groups, they are unfortunately too fragmentary for specific instruments to be identified.⁴³ With several LBA cylinder seals showing infinite processions or ring-dances, one reasonably assumes musical accompaniment which is simply not depicted.⁴⁴

41 For the wreck generally, Bass 1986; Pulak 1998. The shells are unpublished.

42 I thank Eichmann and Psaroudakes for a group email-discussion with C. Pulak (11/8-25/2008).

43 Courtois 1971, 326-56 (note esp. 348, fig. 145); Karageorghis 1991-1999, II, 64-5, dating late LC III/early CG IA; so too Webb 1999, 112; Webb 2001, 76, 79.

44 Schaeffer 1952, pl. VII.1, 3-5; further references in Courtois & Webb 1987, 76 n. 249, 78 n. 253; in the fascinating ideological scheme of Webb 2002 these scenes exemplify obedience to authority/maintenance of political status quo. Two such seals show a figure carrying an object interpreted as a stringed instrument (Aign 1963, 60 with fig. 25), but this is very doubtful. The objects, not resembling each other, also find no parallels among known representations of lyres and harps; are in impossible playing positions; and would have horizontal strings. First seal: Schaeffer 1952, pl. VII.4; Webb 1999, 272-3 fig. 87.2. Second seal: Gjerstad, et al. 1934-1972, I, 474 no. 67 and pl. LXXVI no. 67 (‘From the left approaches a procession of four adorers. The first of them holds a lyre’); Karageorghis 2003, 280-1, no. 320, with comments of D. Collon, who more plausibly suggests that it is a fan, comparing Collon 1987, no. 270.

So the standard Aegean interpretation of the island's round-based instruments should be reconsidered. I shall begin from what is at once the earliest representation, and that which permits the clearest sub-Mycenaean interpretation. The point is to show that, even here, 'Greek' and 'Cypriot' cannot be easily distinguished. This case will then serve *a fortiori* as a caution against overly Greco-centric readings of the abundant later material.

The piece in question is an eleventh-century *kálathos* from Kouklia/Old Paphos, roughly the same date and place as the Opheltas *obelós* which first documents the Greek language on Cyprus.⁴⁵ In one frame is shown a warrior, armed with a sword, holding a round-based lyre, and parading or dancing (Figure 2). Another frame probably depicts a man sacrificing a goat or ram on an altar placed next to a tree. The vase belongs to a larger group of eleventh-tenth century pictorial pottery apparently used, among other objects, as status symbols in Mycenaean-style tombs of the period.⁴⁶ Figurative painting alternates with geometric decoration; on the whole the lack of *precise* Aegean parallels for their iconographical repertoire makes it best to describe them as 'Cypriot'. Yet a subset contains representations of warrior or hunter figures, armed and engaged in activities described as 'macho' or 'heroic', and novel with respect to earlier Cypriot iconography.⁴⁷ In one striking case a man is drinking from a *kýlix*-like vessel and holding what appears to be a figure-eight body shield—an armament which was 'uniquely Aegean with a history of apparently potent symbolism', since it had gone out of actual use centuries earlier.⁴⁸ Sherratt has attractively argued that this is 'a symbol of a specifically Aegean, Greek-speaking past . . . being used to analogise and define the present'.⁴⁹ The Kouklia *kálathos* may well convey a comparable message, resonating with a traditional topos of Greek poetry, especially epic—the conflation of warrior and singer, familiar from Achilles singing *kléa andrôn* on his lyre and Odysseus stringing his bow like an expert lyrist his instrument. This vase seems good evidence of sub-Mycenaean epic flourishing in this part of the island.⁵⁰ Yet these Aegean dimensions are not incompatible with Coldstream's apt comparison to 'Kinyras

45 Nicosia, Kouklia T.9:7, proto-bichrome *kálathos*, LCIIIB: Iakovou 1988, 72 (Cat. no. 29), Figs. 68-7. Opheltas *obelós*: Palaepaphos *Skales*, Tomb 49 no. 16: Karageorghis 1980.

46 Coldstream 1989, esp. 330-1 (eleventh-century chamber-tombs with long *drómoi* have higher concentration of status symbols than other burial types, and appear in areas of later Greek-speaking kingdoms); cf. Rupp 1985, 126-7; Sherratt 1992, 330.

47 Sherratt 1992, 332-3.

48 Iakovou 1988, 71 (Cat. no. 15), Fig. 34; Sherratt 1992, 335 (quotation).

49 Sherratt 1992, 336.

50 Franklin in press-a.

himself' on the strength of the vase's Paphian provenance.⁵¹ Sherrat qualified this view by stressing stylistic differences from other LBA Cypriot musical representations and the instrument's apparent Aegean morphology; if he 'is intended to represent Kinyras... then it is a quite different Kinyras... the more recognisably Greek version of himself... the appropriation and transformation of an element of common Cypriot "history" into something intended to be identified as peculiarly Greek-Cypriot'.⁵² While Sherrat's emphasis on hybridity offers a useful way forward for considering the round-based lyre morphology in general, note that even her reading begs the question of whether round-based lyres were, or were not, a novelty of Aegean immigration.

S. Deger-Jalkotzy saw a further Aegean marker in the tassels on the Kouklia musician's sword, comparing a similarly adorned weapon on a potsherd (LH IIIC) from sub-Mycenaean Lefkandi on Euboea.⁵³ Yet very similar streamers grace the lyrist on the eleventh-century 'Orpheus jug' from Megiddo (Figure 3) and another non-musician figure from the same site).⁵⁴ Any Philistine/Aegean explanation of this latter piece must account for the even stronger Canaanite elements of the jug's style and iconography.⁵⁵ Not least is the *knr*-shape of the instrument itself, which makes this figure more obviously a '*kinýras*' than his counterpart at Old Paphos. And while a lyrist in company with animals made comparison with Orpheus inevitable, this was an ancient Syro-Levantine motif going back to the third millennium.⁵⁶

A further Aegean lyre-marker proposed by Deger-Jalkotzky, not found in the Kouklia *kálathos*, is the 'zigzag' lyre-arms found in several Mycenaean-Minoan images,⁵⁷ and two early IA Cypriot representations. One is on a late tenth-century vase from the necropolis of Kaloriziki (Kourion area), which in another panel shows the same (or similar) figure pouring a libation; together the images suggest some ritual involving music and drinking, whether symposium, funerary ritual, or some combination.⁵⁸ The other is the famous Hubbard amphora

51 Coldstream 1989, 330-1; cf. Paleocosta 1998, 56.

52 Sherrat 1992, 337.

53 Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 21 and 18 fig. 4.3. This figure did not necessarily carry a lyre.

54 IAA 13.1921, strainer-spout jug, Megiddo stratum VIA, c.1100: Dothan 1982, 150-3 and fig. 21.1 (pl. 61).

55 Yasur-Landau 2008.

56 Cf. the seal in Westenholz 2007, 110 no. 70 (BLM Jerusalem, 2462), dating to c.2900-2350 BCE.

57 Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 18 fig. 4 (cf. already Aign 1963, 352). Her comparanda include Maas & Snyder 1989, 16 fig. 2b (Chania), 18 fig. 3b (Tiryns).

58 Nicosia, Kaloriziki Tomb 11, no. 5: Dikaio 1936-1937, 71; Rutten 1939, 442; Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.33, 2.97 (no. IX.1).

(Famagusta district, c.800), a longtime centerpiece of the Cyprus Museum (Figure 4).⁵⁹ Markoe convincingly explicated the funerary symbolism of these scenes, in which a lyric choral ritual honors the deceased who sits enthroned amid symbols of death and rebirth.⁶⁰ There is a striking parallel in the Rāpi'u text from Ugarit, where a *kinnāru*-led musical ensemble regales the underworld king who is closely associated with royal ancestor cult.⁶¹ The Hubbard vase, with its well-paralleled Syro-Anatolian and Egyptian iconographic elements going back to the MBA, offers little contextual purchase for interpreting the musician's instrument as 'Aegean' rather than 'Cypriot'.

Indeed, two southern Anatolian cylinder seals, not noticed by Deger-Jalkotzky, also show lyres with zigzag arms and round bases.⁶² These seals, now dated to the *early* second millennium, can no longer be explained through Aegean diaspora. Li Castro and Scardina have recently shown that this was probably an early areal attribute spanning the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.⁶³ In both we find the lyrist with animals; but again Orpheus⁶⁴ must yield to third-millennium Syro-Levantine parallels (*v. supra*). One should also note several further early Syro-Anatolian lyre-representations whose bases are rather indeterminate between round and flat; or which seem flat-based while having slightly zigzag arms. Their relationship to the more rigidly defined ground of 'East' and 'West' is anything but clear.⁶⁵ Do they constitute a chronological transition from one to the other? A geographical one? Both? Note that their temporal and geographic distribution makes it perfectly possible that some at least went by a form of the word *knr*, despite not closely resembling the instruments we normally associate with that word.⁶⁶

59 Hubbard amphora: Nicosia, 1938/XI-2/3; Dikaios 1936-1937; Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.8-9, 2.7-9.

60 Markoe 1988.

61 RS 24.252 = *KTU/CAT* 1.108; Pardee 1988, 75-118. See further Franklin in press-b.

62 The seals are 1) Adana Archaeology Museum 35.999 (Tarsus): Porada 1956, 400, fig. 35; cf. 235, 394; for the corrected dating to c.1800, see Collon 1987, 43, no. 148; 2) British Museum 134306 (probably from Mardin): Rimmer 1969, 28 and pl. VIIIa.; Collon 1987, 43, no. 149. Both seals well discussed/illustrated by Li Castro & Scardina 2011, 208-11, figs. 11-12. The challenge these posed to an exclusively Aegean interpretation was recognized by Maas & Snyder 1989, 9 (even on the basis of their former dating to c.1200).

63 Li Castro & Scardina 2011.

64 Goldman 1935, 537-8; Porada 1956, 204.

65 Lawergren 1998, 47, is appropriately agnostic on their affiliation. Li Castro & Scardina 2011, 211 (with figs. 13-15) decline to address them as being too vaguely rendered.

66 I include here the Hattic/Hittite form in z- and cognates: Ivanov 1999.

Thus while Lawergren's distinction between 'eastern' and 'western' lyre-morphology remains broadly valid, it is not clear just where the line should be drawn. Cyprus falls precisely within 'disputed' area. If 'western' is equated with 'Aegean' and 'eastern' with Canaanite/Phoenician, the island becomes a passive matrix for the implantation of foreign lyric identities—an idea not only politically objectionable, but inherently implausible. Admittedly there was indeed a time when lyres first appeared on the island. But the high antiquity of chordophones in the Aegean, Anatolia, and larger Near East makes it rather unlikely that such instruments, in whatever shape, were otherwise unknown before the cosmopolitan LBA (our 'lost daughter').

We must therefore seriously consider that the round-based lyres of 1A Cyprus are in fact, morphologically, *Cypro-Aegean hybrids*—that similar instruments already inhabited the pre-Greek island. This hypothesis solves several problems in a stroke. First, it explains the early ubiquity of round-based lyres in the popular medium of votive-figurines. Second, it accounts for the rich non-Aegean iconographic elements in the relevant representations (e.g. Hubbard amphora). Finally, while these lyres would no longer be *unambiguous* Aegean ethnic markers, they would remain *compatible* with early Aegean cultural expression in a 'colonial' environment, if other elements justify the reading (e.g. Kouklia *kálathos*).

East Meets West: The Cypro-Phoenician Symposium Bowls

Our new *kinyrístria* also complicates the 'eastern' lyres of the Cypro-Phoenician *phiálai*. Did Levantine morphology disappear in the less cosmopolitan early 1A, to return with Phoenician immigration? Or was there a continuous tradition, as yet unrepresented archeologically? Certainty is impossible. But the more abundant 1A material permits safer deductions than the LBA. The early votive-figurines are crucial. Their instruments, though roughly-formed, are, as far as I have found, distinctly round. The popular nature of the medium, and the large number of examples, combine to guarantee that the round-based morphology was, if not universal, by far the dominant Cypriot form prior to the Phoenician influx.

The so-called Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls, manufactured from c.900-600 BCE, have been found far and wide, including Cyprus, Greece (especially Crete), Iraq (Nimrud), Italy (especially Etruria), Iran, and Israel.⁶⁷

67 I follow the catalogue numbers of Markoe 1985 where possible. The literature is enormous. A good doxographic survey is Neri 2000, 3-13; cf. Falsone 1988, 95.

Despite the lack of examples from Phoenicia itself—with minimal excavation of most major sites—there is little doubt that early production centers were located here.⁶⁸ It has also been possible, especially by comparison with the Nimrud ivories, to distinguish broadly between Phoenician and NS traditions, in this and other media, on stylistic and technical criteria—with the former more obviously Egyptianizing and favoring more symmetrical, balanced compositions.⁶⁹ There are, however, a number of intermediate examples.

Establishing more precise geographic origins for specific bowls is famously difficult, with many factors in play. Plunder, deportation of craftsman, and willful hybridity underlie the rich, complex evidence from Nimrud. Itinerant/immigrant craftsman and local imitation are often supposed, especially for Crete and Italy/Etruria.⁷⁰ And all bowls were subject to wide circulation through the usual mechanisms of elite exchange and desire for luxury imports.⁷¹ But some broad correlations are possible between distribution and known historical phases. Winter's vision of an exclusive ninth-century Greco-Syrian market⁷² was clouded by early new finds from Lefkandi (c.900) and Crete, which indicate parallel Phoenician activity.⁷³ It remains the case, however, that the devastation of Syrian cities by Sargon (722-05) effectively terminated the older NS trade westward.⁷⁴ The more symbiotic Assyrian policy towards the coastal cities enabled the Phoenician schools to continue their development and circulation. This later phase coincides with Phoenician colonial ventures in the West, the regular appearance of bowls in Italy and Etruria, and the use of Spanish silver for the *phíalai*.⁷⁵

Now it has long been recognized that some portion of the *phíalai* were probably produced on Cyprus.⁷⁶ Not only have many of the bowls been found there, but some depict known Cypriot material culture, including ceramic vessels (Figure 5)⁷⁷ and wheeled vehicles.⁷⁸ Moreover, several bowls contain Greek

68 Falsone 1988.

69 Barnett 1939, etc.; Winter 1976, 6-11; Falsone 1988, 80-1 with references.

70 Neri 2000, 3-13; Markoe 2003; Falsone 1988, 94-5.

71 See recently Vella in press.

72 Winter 1976, 11-22.

73 Falsone 1988, 106; Popham 1995; Neri 2000, 12; Markoe 2003, 211.

74 Winter 1976, 17-20.

75 Falsone 1988, 105-6; Neri 2000, 4-5.

76 Gjerstad 1946; Markoe 1985, 6-9; Falsone 1988, 94-5.

77 See Gjerstad 1946, 5, 7, diagnosing Cypriot pottery and dress in Cy3 (Idalion, his Proto-Cypriote I class, which otherwise exhibits clear NS stylistic traits: Falsone 1988, 96) and Cy5 (Kourion, Gjerstad's Proto-Cypriote III).

78 Culican 1982, 14 (vehicles in outer band of Cy13).

inscriptions in the so-called Cypro-syllabic script unique to the island. While inscriptions could be added secondarily to imported bowls, in one case (Cy11, Kourion) the owner's name was clearly engraved at the time of manufacture, accommodated by the surrounding imagery.⁷⁹ Last but not least, Cyprus is the only area which has produced finds, in both votive and funerary contexts, throughout the life-cycle of the bowls.⁸⁰

With this we may turn to the subset of bowls containing musical scenes. The basic motif is generally seen as a celebration of Astarte/'Aphrodite',⁸¹ probably representing, as Fariselli argues, a multistage celebration involving choral song by cultic groups around a divine image.⁸² The singers supported by the fourth-century temple at Phoenician Kition are a much-cited analogy.⁸³ One finds various combinations of goddess/god, altar, and/or offerings-table (Cr11, Cy3, G3, G8, U6); a procession of normally female⁸⁴ musicians; dancers (Cr7, Cy3, G3); dancing musicians (U7, drummers); and offerings-bearers (Cr7, Cr11, Cy3 (?), Cy5, Cy6, Cy7 (?), G3, U6). All elements are rarely found together (G3?, Cy3); usually the scene is more or less abbreviated.⁸⁵ In cases where the goddess scene merges with royal and/or elite banquet (Cy5, Cy6), a hierogamic reading seems plausible.⁸⁶ That interpretation is more elusive when the context is banquet alone (Cy13, second band), although one might still fall back on 'sacred festival'.⁸⁷ Sometimes a fragmentary context makes closer interpretation hazardous (Cy7, Cy13, outer band).⁸⁸

79 Gjerstad 1946, 12-16.

80 Neri 2000, 4-5 with her table.

81 Markoe 1985, 59 (but cf. Winter 1990, 241); Neri 2000, 4-5; Fariselli 2007, 13-14. G3, however, also appears to depict a male deity (Markoe 1985, 204).

82 Fariselli 2007, 13 (comparing cultic costumes of Cr7 and G8); Fariselli 2010, 14-16.

83 Amadasi & Karageorghis 1977 C1 (pp. 103-26).

84 As female cult scenes, see e.g. Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 187-8, on no. 306 (Cy3) = Karageorghis 2006, 112-13, no. 84, fig. 97. Their gender is questioned by Burgh 2004, 131-3 (commenting on Cy3), suggesting that gender *ambiguity* may have sometimes been intentional; cf. Knapp 2011, 125. Karageorghis 1999, 16, believes that of the two mirrored groups now known to have graced the presumed royal banquet of Cy6, one was female and the other male. Fariselli 2007, 11-12 n. 10 notes the male pipers on Cy5 and Cy13 (third band: reclining symposiast).

85 Note the suggestion of Fariselli 2010, 16, that the offering-bearers of Cy6 are also dancing.

86 The argument for Cy5 hinges upon *Κυπρομέδουσα* ('She Ruling Cyprus') over the female figure; with 'king' perhaps over the male: Karageorghis 2002, 156 (with fig. 322), 177. Cy6 depends upon the addition of orgiastic-sympotic imagery: Karageorghis 1993.

87 Neri 2000, 3-4; Fariselli 2010, 13-14.

88 In these two cases, where mythological narratives are suspected, the musical processions may evoke an underlying ritual reality.

Returning to the question of lyric identity, it will be seen from the clearly cultic scenes that the makeup of the ‘orchestra’ is in principle very consistent, the full complement being lyre, double-pipe,⁸⁹ and hand-percussion (usually framedrum). This combination has clear affinities with Levantine traditions going back to the LBA; compare the musician guilds of Ugarit and the Rāpi’u text⁹⁰ and the musical prophets met by Saul (1 Sam. 10:5-6). Considerable variation in the order of musicians suggests that this element is insignificant. Emphasis is achieved rather by duplication and omission. Thus U7, by showing only dancing drummers, calls attention to this aspect/phase of ritual; the orchestra is probably implied. From the remaining bowls it is clear that lyres enjoyed some prominence. As the accompanying table shows, lyres alone appear in every other clearly cultic case. Often more than one is shown, evoking the massed *kinnōr*-lyres of the Jerusalem temple and the *kinyrá-dai* of Paphos.⁹¹ By contrast, the double-pipe is never certainly multiplied,⁹² and is sometimes omitted altogether. Consider that the *kinnāru* was the only instrument divinized at Ugarit, and compare Kinyras himself and his Roman-era avatar Apollo *Kenyrístēs*.⁹³ This material fully justifies our focus on lyric subcultures.

As it happens, only the lyres exhibit clear morphological variety, between Lawergren’s ‘eastern’ and ‘western’ types (Table 1; Figures 6 and 7). This evidence has been neglected in previous typological analyses of the corpus, even though ‘when neighboring cultures share the same symbols yet choose to represent

89 Fariselli 2007, 11 and n. 6, would see single-pipes on Cy5 and Cy7. But these are surely double, shown in parallel (as often in Greece); this seems guaranteed by Comp7, where the pipes diverge just enough to prove their doubleness. Her final single-pipe example (Cy13, inner band) is more persuasive; but here the exceptional rustic context (played by stable-boy) only proves the rule that the more sophisticated cult-music used *double*-pipes.

90 Franklin in press-b.

91 Note esp. Mitford 1961, 13 no. 32: ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν (Hellenistic). Is it significant that ‘western’ lyres are never duplicated? Or this due to the late and abbreviated nature of these particular scenes?

92 Fariselli 2007 (11 and n. 6, 12 and n. 12) would see two pipers in Cy7, seemingly misreading the drawing in Markoe 1985; a photograph (Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 186-7 no. 305) shows clearly that the leftmost figure has a round-based lyre, as Marquand 1887, 326-8, already saw (for its telltale floral decor, *v. infra*). Cy13 (second band) *may* have had two pipers; but the following figure is broken, and could have been lyrist or drummer. Even so, the bowl is very late, and we are at some remove from the basic cultic scene; the context is strongly sympotic, helping explain the oddity of a reclining male pipe and seated female drummer in the third band.

93 *Kenyrístēs*: Mitford 1960, 75-7, with new reading by Cayla 2001.

TABLE 1 *Lyre-ensembles in the Cypro-Phoenician symposium bowls*

Bowl ⁹⁴	Find Spot	Phase ⁹⁵	Ensemble ⁹⁶	Lyre ⁹⁷
<i>Q/A</i>	Lefkandi	I c.900	[?]/L/L/P	E
Comp7	Golgoi, Cyp.	10th cent.	P/D/L	E
Cy3	Idalion, Cyp.	I c.825	D/L/P	E
U6	Luristan (?)	I c.825	D/L/L/P	E
Cr11	Mt Ida, Crete	II-III	L/L/L	E
G3	Olympia	II before 725	P/D/L	W
G8	Sparta (?)	II before 725	L/L/D/L	E
Cy6	Kourion, Cyp. ⁹⁸	III early 7th	D/L/P	E
Cy7	Kourion, Cyp.	III early 7th	L/P/D(?)	W
Cy5	Salamis, Cyp.	IV later 7th	D/P/L	W ⁹⁹
Cy13	Kourion, Cyp.	IV later 7th	?/L/P(?) ¹⁰⁰	W ¹⁰¹

94 By catalogue numbers in Markoe 1985, except for *Q/A* = Popham 1995.

95 Markoe's dating scheme (used here) is, after close inspection, fundamentally compatible with Gjerstad 1946. Both are based on an assumed typological development towards greater complexity. But the reliability of this criterion is undermined by the existence of multiple workshops/sub-traditions, some potentially more conservative than others: Culican 1982, 22; also the critique of Winter 1990.

96 Back to front. L = lyre; P = double-pipe; D = framedrum.

97 I retain Lawergren's 'eastern' (E) and 'western' (W) without equating 'western' and 'Aegean' (*v. supra*).

98 The 'Kourion' bowls come from Cesnola's notorious horde, suspected of being a sensationalist assemblage by Cesnola himself; but Kourion may still be the *general* area of origin: Markoe 1985, 176-7.

99 The instrument played by the *hetaíra* (?) on the *klínē* is quite ambiguous; but that of the processional orchestra does seem round-based.

100 See Culican 1982, 15.

101 Fariselli 2007 (17 n. 40) states that Culican 1982, 15, detected a distinctly Assyrian character to the lyre in the outer band of Cy13, and she groups it with other 'eastern' examples (Cr11, Cy3, U6). But Culican's phrase 'particularly Assyrian features' applied only to the player—a crucial distinction. That the lyre is in fact 'western', as suggested by his drawing, is confirmed by its vertical orientation.

them very differently, those differences should be culturally significant'.¹⁰² Conversely musicologists (myself included) have extracted organological data from larger iconographic contexts, without considering how the instruments support, complicate, or contradict prevailing classification schemes. Yet the round-based models open new areas which evade stylistic analysis based on distinguishing the NS and Phoenician traditions, since their lyre-traditions seem too close (iconographically) to differentiate.¹⁰³

Note first that the eastern lyre-morphology dominates in the early phases of Markoe's typological scheme. With one exception (G3: *v. infra*), the Aegean (including Crete) has produced only eastern specimens. Of these, Cy3 is of NS derivation, although its depiction of Cypriot vessel-forms strongly suggests an insular workshop.¹⁰⁴ Of Phoenician or intermediate style are OJA, Cr11, G8. By contrast the four 'western' examples (G3, Cy5, Cy7, Cy13) come from phases II-IV, suggesting a secondary typological development. It can hardly be coincidence that the latter three have been found on Cyprus itself. Here we must accept the sane principle that, 'all other factors being equal, a trait or artifact type probably originated somewhere near the center of its distribution'.¹⁰⁵ This is confirmed by the presence of *kypriaká* in Cy5 and Cy13.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, the instrument on Cy7 (Figure 7) has a decorative element on one of its arms which probably corresponds to the floral adornment found on lyres in several Cypriot sculptures and figurines, including a well-known Egyptianizing statue (c.575) said to be from Golgoi (Figure 8).¹⁰⁷ This and several other floral lyres¹⁰⁸

102 Winter 1976, 20.

103 Since minor variations are always attributable to different workshops. But this question may reward closer scrutiny: cf. n. 104.

104 See n. 77. The lyre is also strikingly similar to that in a NS-style ivory pyxis from Nimrud (Mallowan 1966, 218 fig. 168). U6 is closely related to Cy3, but travelled to Iran.

105 L. R. Binford, quoted by Winter 1990, 14.

106 See nn. 77-8.

107 MMA New York inv. no. 74.51.2509 (45.2 cm high): Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 132, no. 198, where the instrument is misidentified as a triangular harp (also Myres 1914, 199, no. 1264; Karageorghis 2006, 147); Lawergren 1984, 152 n. 4, rightly recognized a round-based lyre with only the front portion sculpted.

108 A comparable instrument is held by a mold-made female figurine, possibly from Lapethos and dated to c.600-480 (Karageorghis, Mertens & Rose 2000, 148-9, no. 227). Another such figure (tomb, Idalion) apparently a 'floral-post' lyre; unfortunately the instrument is broken (Cesnola 1894, pl. V, no. 29; cf. pl. XXXIV, no. 287). A late and exquisite example, from the Hellenistic period, is Cesnola 1885, pl. cii, no. 676. But this one has a *flat* base, a feature which might be explained by the influence of the Greek *kithára*, but that its outwardly flaring arms make ongoing Levantine influence equally likely, or more so.

are a vivid sign of a vibrant Cypriot lyric tradition in the Archaic period and beyond.¹⁰⁹

This clear evidence of local Cypriot preference may be compared, and contrasted, with the numerous finds from Italy/Etruria where the cult-music type-scene, though it persisted throughout the life-cycle of the bowls overall, is strikingly absent.¹¹⁰ This should be added to the evidence there for local preferences in iconography, adaptation to new materials, and re-orientation of use/ideology.¹¹¹ Retention and development of the cult-scene through the final typological phases on Cyprus is explicable in the first instance through the fundamental importance there of Astarte/'Aphrodite' cult.¹¹² It is also this which accounts for the 'confrontation' of 'western' and 'eastern' morphologies within an otherwise similar iconographic context. For while the Cypriot and mainland versions of the goddess were readily identifiable in broad terms (hence the shared iconography) the respective cultural spheres maintained separate senses of identity (whence the variation of detail).

Undoubtedly the morphological distinction implies complex social perceptions that developed and shifted, on a regional basis, with changing Phoenician political fortunes and other demographic trends. While most such nuances now escape us, they should be recognized as a 'known unknown' which can at least help us frame relevant questions. What should we make, for instance, of Cy6 which, though presenting an 'eastern' instrument, carries a Greek inscription in the Cypro-syllabic script; while its find location (Kourion) is not especially distinguished as an area of Phoenician settlement? Is it significant that the later typological phases on Cyprus are represented by only a single eastern specimen? Should the presence of an early 'eastern' example at Idalion be connected with Phoenician metal-hunting in the Troodos foothills? What of the unusual model from Golgoi? Or does elite exchange render any such regional analysis futile within the island? After all, while the iconographic distinction between Cypriot and Syro-Phoenician lyres is clearly intentional and culturally significant, each bowl enjoyed a life of its own, and there is no practical basis for segregating Greek-Cypriot from Phoenician-Cypriot in its 'after-market'

109 Besides Stasinos, note Stē/asandros, the Salaminian 'citharode' who performed 'battles à la Homer' at Delphi, probably in the sixth century (Ath. 638a = Timomachos *FGH* 754 F 1): Franklin in press-a.

110 But note the situla from the Certosa of Bologna, with its startling duo of panpipe and Phoenicianizing lyre: Fleischhauer 1964, 22-3 fig. 1.

111 Synopsis in Neri 2000, 3-13, noting e.g. emphasis on martial themes and exclusively funerary find-contexts; Markoe 2003, 213-5 (materials/media).

112 For which see generally Karageorghis 1977; Karageorghis 2005.

existence. On the contrary, Cy6 suggests a quite general intermingling of Cypriots of all ethnic backgrounds in the context of elite drinking rituals during the eighth and seventh centuries.

The Olympia bowl (Figure 9) is the only 'western' lyre found in Greece. But this is no evidence of local manufacture for Greek consumption. Who would argue that the other Aegean finds, with 'eastern' lyres, reflect the widespread currency of Phoenician/NS instruments there in ninth/eighth centuries? Cr11, one should note, contains a Phoenician owner's inscription, and of course we now know that there was an important Phoenician presence on Crete at Kommos. To be sure, the seventh-century Alkaios knew that there existed a 'Phoenician lyre' (*phoinix*, presumably in a sympotic context),¹¹³ and it is not hard to believe that this reflects more than familiarity with imported iconography. But it is precisely the *exotic* nature of both bowl and instrument that best accounts for their presence in the Aegean and the poetics of Alkaios. The Olympia bowl is therefore most economically explained in the same terms, with the exception that it must be traced to an extra-Aegean source where round-based lyres had currency. Once again the obvious candidate is a Cypriot workshop. Stylistically the bowl seems to stand midway between NS and Phoenician tradition.¹¹⁴ That the bowl is inscribed with an Aramaean name is not problematic, given that Cy3, though produced locally, adheres to the NS school (*v. supra*). Moreover, the island has produced a number of early (eighth-seventh century) inscriptions in non-Phoenician Semitic languages, attesting 'the strong interaction among peoples on the island'.¹¹⁵ Of course we must remember that eighth-century Cilicia has also produced examples of western lyre-morphology in the Karatepe reliefs and the lyre-player group of seals, which present complex interpretive challenges.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, a Cypriot origin for G3 remains the most economical explanation given the parallels of Cy5, Cy7, Cy13. It then came through elite circulation to Greece, where the lyre's similarity to contemporary Aegean instruments would have made the bowl simultaneously familiar and exotic; but of course how it passed from Aramaean hands to its final deposition at Olympia remains a mystery.

To conclude, with the symposium bowls too the 'western' lyre-morphology presents a distinctly Cypriot aspect. With its temple-orchestra deployment we

113 For φοῖνιξ and related words, West 1992, 59 and nn. 50-1; for the accentuation φοῖνιξ, vs. φοῖνιξ (*LSJ*), Naoumides 1968, 272.

114 Phoenician: Egyptianizing figures, vertical partition of space (cf. Falsone 1988, 101). NS: rendition of god(dess)/offering table motif, and central design (Frankfort 1970, 327-8).

115 Smith 2008, 264-6 (quotation), with references.

116 Franklin in press-b.

are a world apart from the Aegean. Nevertheless, despite the clear kinship of this performance tradition to the Levant, it need not be that the Cypriot version is secondary and derivative; or if so, that it dates only to the Phoenician 'colonial' period. This may well be a mirage of the *phiálai* and novel iconographic fashions. Any historical dependence on Levantine cult practice, in my view, must be traced at least to the LBA, although one may allow a syncretic re-convergence in the ninth-eighth centuries.

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MAP 1 *Map of Cyprus*



FIGURE 1 *14th-century Egyptian(izing) bowl, drawn from autopsy and photographs in n. 24*



FIGURE 2 *Eleventh-century kálathos from Kouklia (see n. 45), drawn from Iakovou 1988, 72, Figs. 68-7*



FIGURE 3 *Eleventh-century 'Orpheus jug', Megiddo (see n. 54), drawn from Dothan 1982, 150-3 fig. 21.1 (pl. 61)*



FIGURE 4 *Hubbard Amphora* (see n. 59), drawn from Karageorghis & des Gagniers 1974, 1.8-9, 2.7-9



FIGURE 5 *Cyz, Idalion* (New York 74.51.5700), drawn from photograph in Markoe 1985, 247

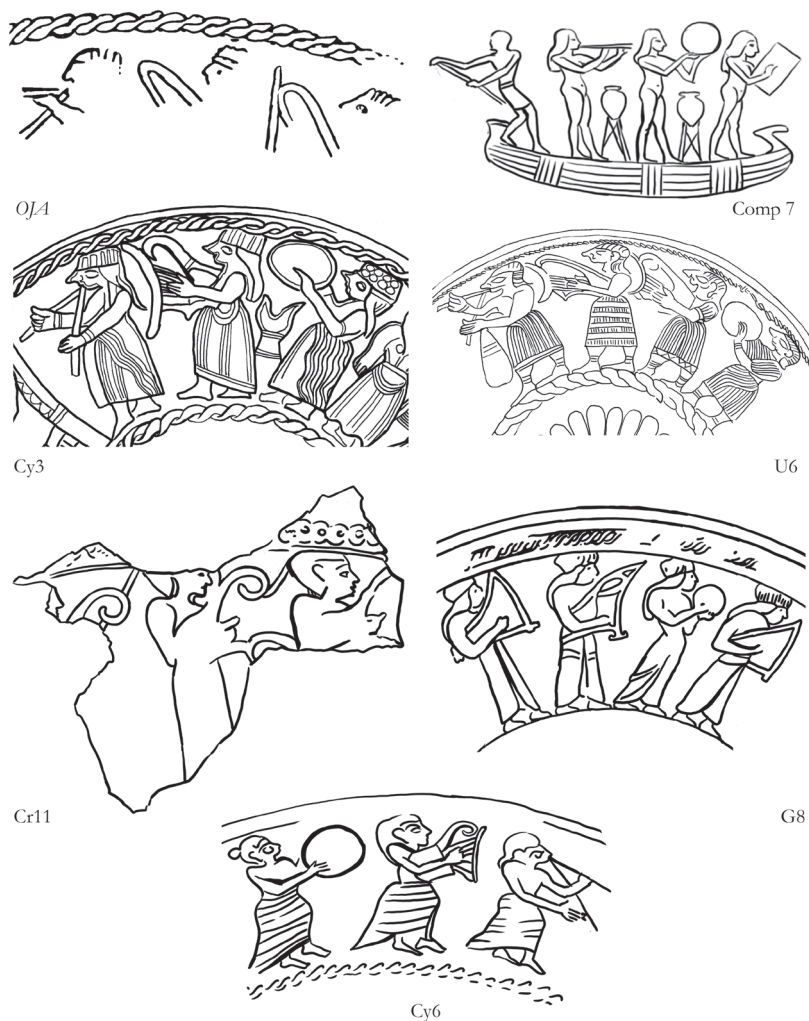


FIGURE 6 Lyres of 'eastern' type from Cypro-Phoenician phiálai, arranged chronologically by Table 1, and including excerpt from Figure 5. G8, Cy3, U6, Cy6, Comp7 drawn from photographs in Markoe 1985; Cr11 after Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl. CXXVIII:2 (public domain); OJA after drawing by Alison Wilkins in Popham 1995, 106 n.1 (with permission)



FIGURE 7 Round-based ('western') lyres in Cypro-Phoenician *phiálai*, arranged chronologically by Table 1, and including excerpt from Figure 9. G3, Cy5, Cy13 drawn from photographs in Markoe 1985; Cy7 after Marquand 1887, pl. XXX (public domain). Both scenes from Cy5 are given. From Cy13 only the 'orchestra' is shown; for the other (non-lyre) scenes, see nn. 89, 92



FIGURE 8 *Limestone sculpture, sixth century (see n. 107), MMA New York inv. 74.51.2509, drawn from Karageorghis 2006, 147, fig. 138*



FIGURE 9 *G3, Olympia (Athens 7941), drawn from photograph in Markoe 1985*

Notes on the Aulodic *nomoi* *Apothetos* and *Schoinion*

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Abstract

Notes upon aulodic *nomoi*, particularly the *Apothetos* and the *Schoinion*: the first one was probably so named after the claim of its supposed inventor, Clonas, to have made the larger public know a not (or not yet) widely-circulated melody, perhaps on the occasion of a great festival; the second one was perhaps so called because it resembled in some way the Grey Wagtail's call (in Greek *Schoiniōn* or *Schoiniklos*), recognized by Greeks as a melody characterized by a well defined rhythm.

Keywords

aulody – aulodic *nomoi* – Clonas – *Apothetos* – *Schoinion* – Ps.-Plutarch *De musica*

One of the main sources of Ps.-Plutarch's *De musica*,¹ Heraclides of Pontus (4th–3rd century BC), gives an important piece of evidence about aulodic music in the 7th century BC (fr. 157 Wehrli = *Mus.* 1132d), viz. the 'canonization' of some melodic schemes (*nomoi*)² at the time of—and probably under the influence of—Clonas from Tegea or Thebes, famous as a composer of

1 Hereafter simply '*Mus.*'

2 On musical *nomoi* see Barker 1984, 249–55; West 1992, 214–16.

processional songs, elegiacs and epic verses, and Polymnestus from Colophon, who cultivated the same poetic forms as his predecessor:³

οἱ δὲ νόμοι οἱ κατὰ τούτους (i.e. Clonas and Polymnestus), ἀγαθὲ Ὀνησίκρατες, αὐλωδικοὶ ἦσαν· Ἀπόθετος, Ἑλεγοί, Κωμάρχιος, Σχοινίων, †Κηπίων τε καὶ Δεῖος† καὶ Τριμελής· ὕστερῳ δὲ χρόνῳ καὶ τὰ Πολυμνήστεια καλούμενα ἐξευρέθη. οἱ δὲ τῆς κιθαρωδίας νόμοι πρότερον <οὐ> πολλῷ χρόνῳ τῶν αὐλωδικῶν κατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ Τερπάνδρου.

Apart from the sequence *Κηπίων τε καὶ Δεῖος*, very likely corrupted,⁴ the names Ἑλεγοί, Κωμάρχιος and Τριμελής are themselves quite clear and have been explained quite unanimously by modern scholars:⁵ the first one seems to refer to a mournful song, such as those composed by the aulode Echembrotus from Tasus, who describes his own works as *μέλεα καὶ ἐλέγους* (fr. 1 Campbell); the second one can be connected with the Dionysiac revel (see Eur. *Ph.* 791, where the army is defined as a *κῶμος ἀναυλότατος* in opposition to Dionysiac *κῶμος*) or, more generally, with a processional kind of performance (it is worth remembering that *prosodia*, processional songs, were mainly performed to the *aulos* and were among Clonas' and Polymnestos' works);⁶ the third one, finally, refers to a threefold song: a Sicyonian chronicle (*FGrHist* 550 F 2 = *Mus.* 1134b)⁷ makes it clear that each part, corresponding to a single stanza, was composed in a different key or *tonos* (respectively, Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian). Less self-evident are the names of the *nomoi* Ἀπόθετος and Σχοινίων, both strictly

3 On both the poets cf. *Mus.* 1132c; for other testimonia see Gentili-Prato 2002, 10-13 (Clonas and Polymnestus) and Campbell 1988, 330-35 (Polymnestus).

4 For a discussion of the passage, with an overview of modern scholars' emendations, see Paterlini 2001, who however considers the transmitted text sound. Nevertheless, the presence of Kepion, the name of Terpander's favourite disciple and of a kitharodic *nomos*, is very suspect, as is the connective nexus *τε καὶ*, perfectly in place in the list of kitharodic *nomoi* (*Mus.* 1132d), not in that of aulodic *nomoi*. All this seems to favour Lasserre's (1954, 106) idea of the slipping of the copyist's eye from one place to another (in both cases at the end of a writing line) because of the identity of the first letters (κη) of two *nomoi*. Not altogether convincing is his emendation *κῆδειος*: between *κη* and *δεις* some letters should be missing, otherwise it is difficult to see how the copyist's eye could slip from *κη* to *κηπίωνά τε καὶ*. One can suppose that *κη-* was the beginning of a name and *-δεις* the ending of another: *κη<±10 letters>|δεις*.

5 See e.g. Flach 1883, 258-260; Del Grande 1932, 26 and 1960, 425; Lasserre 1954, 23; Barker 1984, 252f.

6 On the performance of *prosodia* see Grandolini 1993 and Pinervi 2010-2011.

7 The epigraphic chronicle probably dates back to the 5th century BC: cf. Lanata 1963, 282f.

associated with Clonas in antiquity (see *Mus.* 1133a-b and Poll. 4.79, probably depending on the same source).⁸ Many hypotheses have been formulated by scholars in order to explain these denominations: in what follows, they will be discussed and some new arguments will be adduced to support some of them.

The name Ἀπόθετος was interpreted by Burette (1735, 122)⁹ as a reference to a song “reserved” for solemn occasions, while Del Grande (1960, 425) thought of a melodic scheme for a “reserved” occasion, i.e. a ritual restricted to few people. Flach (1883, 257f.), in his turn, saw a connexion with Spartan Ἀπόθεται, the ceremony during which malformed infants were exposed (Plut. *Lyc.* 16.13).¹⁰ An interesting proposal, but unfortunately far from granted. A different approach is that suggested by Barker (1984, 252): “one can imagine the term being taken from a poet’s boast ‘I shall reveal a new song, hidden until now’, or the like”. This is, in my opinion, the likeliest interpretation. For a similar assertion one can compare Timotheus’ words in *Persae*’s *sphragis* (fr. 791.229-33 Hord.): νῦν δὲ Τιμόθεος μέτροις / ῥυθμοῖς τ’ ἐνδεκακρουμάτοις / κίθαριν ἐξανατέλλει, / θησαυρὸν πολύυμνον οἶ’-ἔξας Μουσᾶν θαλαμειτόν.¹¹ *Persae* was a citharodic, not an aulodic piece, but, of course, such claims of artistry (and authorship) were not confined to citharodic poetry: any composer could assert his own artistry (cf. e.g. Alc. *PMGF* 39, Theogn. 19-23, Pind. *O.* 3.4-6). Clonas, therefore, could claim that he invented a new *nomos* or, simply, that he brought out a “stowed-away” *nomos* to the larger public. The latter possibility seems preferable on the basis of the use of the adjective ἀπόθετος with reference to texts: as Labarbe (1949, 379) showed, “ἀπόθετος, appliqué à un texte [...], désigne, de façon très générale, ce qui est ‘mis ou laissé de côté, c’est-à-dire ce que le grand public ignore (quelle que soit la raison de son ignorance)”. An instructive case is that of Homeric ἀπόθετα ἔπη, verses ‘published’ by the Homeridae as little known works of Homer.¹² Plato (*Phaedr.* 252b) quotes two of these lines and says they were recited only by some of the Homeridae (τινες Ὀμηριδῶν): the indefinite pronoun suggests that

8 *Mus.* 1133a-b περὶ δὲ Κλονᾶ ὅτι τὸν Ἀπόθετον νόμον καὶ Σχοινίωνα πεποικηκὼς εἶη μνημονεύουσιν οἱ ἀναγεγραφότες (perhaps the authors of the Sicyonian chronicle cited above: cf. Westphal 1865, 72f.) and Poll. 4.79 καὶ Κλονᾶ δὲ νόμοι αὐλητικοὶ ἀπόθετός τε καὶ σχοινίων. In the Sicyonian chronicle (*FGrHist* 550 F 2) the Τριμελής was credited to Clonas too, but there was not an ancient *communis opinio*: according to *Mus.* 1134b it was Sacadas of Argos who invented this *nomos*.

9 See also Volkmann 1856, 76, in agreement with Burette.

10 For this interpretation see also Tunison 1896, 17; Lasserre 1954, 23; Nobili 2011, 31.

11 ‘Now Timotheus renews the cithara with eleven-stringed metres and rhythms, opening the many-songed chambered treasury of the Muses’ (transl. Hordern).

12 See Labarbe 1949, 378-83 (with an examination of all the occurrences); Andersen 2011, 366.

“certains rhapsodes se signalaient à l’attention des auditeurs en produisant des ‘inédits’—réels ou apocryphes, peu importe—qui manquaient au répertoire de leurs confrères” (Labarbe 1949, 381). Similarly, Clonas could boast that he brought a not (or not yet) widely circulated *nomos* to a larger public; e.g., it is possible to think of a regional melodic scheme, Arcadian or Boeotian, that was brought over the frontier of its original region, perhaps on the occasion of a great festival.¹³

As far as the *Σχοινίων* is concerned, five proposals have been advanced: (1) the majority of the scholars saw a connexion with *σχοινίον*, ‘small rope made of bulrush’, and interpreted it as a reference to the laxity and ‘effeminacy’ of the *nomos* (so Casaubon 1621, 894, on the basis of Hesych. σ 3038 Hansen *σχοινίνην φωνήν· τήν σαθράν καὶ διερρωγυῖαν*)¹⁴ or, alternatively, to its Dionysiac character (so Thiersch 1820, 253 n. 7, on the basis of the Pindaric description of the ancient dithyramb as a “song coming forth stretched like a rope” in fr. 70b Maehler);¹⁵ (2) Volkmann (1856, 76) suggested a geographical explanation, with reference to the Boeotian city of *Σχοῖνος*; (3) Flach (1883, 258) thought that “wird man nur an das persische Maass Schoenos denken können, von welchem jener Nomos wegen seiner eigenthümlichen und abgeschmackten Länge seinen Namen erhalten haben wird”; (4) Tunison (1896, 17) considered the name *σχοινίων* to be taken from that of homonymous bird, “which lived among the rushes, *σχοῖνοι*, at the brink of ponds and water-courses” (more precisely, a tail-wagging Grey Wagtail or *Motacilla cinerea*: see Arnott 2007, 306 s.v.);¹⁶ (5) Lasserre (1954, 23),

13 One can observe that a more appropriate name for a regional *nomos* would have been a denomination deriving from the originary region of the melody (cf. e.g. the *Boiotios* or the *Aiolios nomos*). This is true, but unfortunately we can not know the (possible) original name of the *nomos*, preceding Clonas’ reworking of it (for a similar case of a double denomination, let us remember of the *Terpandreios nomos* quoted by Poll. 4.65, which is perhaps another name for the *Orthios nomos*, or better for Terpander’s reworking of that melody: cf. Wilamowitz 1903, 90 n. 1; Gostoli 1990, XVII–XIX). If such a ‘regional’ name had existed, we should suppose that it was lost because the other one (*Apothetos*) was more successful. For the relevance of regional music traditions in Archaic age see Comotti 1991, 18; West 1992, 334.

14 Cf. also Burette 1735, 122 and Weil-Reinach 1900, 17. *Contra* Volkmann 1856, 76.

15 The proposal has been accepted by many scholars: see, among others, Del Grande 1932, 26 and 1960, 425; West 1992, 344 n. 67; Porter 2007, 18–21; Nobili 2011, 31f. The meaning of the Pindaric expression is not clear; it seems to imply a monotonous performance (cf. van der Weiden 1991, 63f.), perhaps characterized by long rhythmical and musical periods (cf. Lavecchia 2000, 125–30).

16 For this interpretation see also Barker 1984, 252 and Ballerio 2000, 24. On the *σχοινίων* or *σχοινίλος* (in Latin *motacilla*) see Arist. *HA* 8.593b1–6 and 610a8f.

finally, took the name as a genitive from σχοινίον, comparing the name with that of the auletic νόμος Κραδίας (the melody accompanying the whipping of scapegoats with fig-branches),¹⁷ and suggested that σχοινίων could be an allusion to the Spartan ritual of flogging ephebes at Orthia's altar, or alternatively to the ritual harvesting of bulrushes along the banks of Eurotas river in order to make couches for boys aged seven.¹⁸

In support of the first hypothesis one might bring also Cratin. fr. dub. 361a-c K.-A. εὖτε κισσοχαῖτ' ἀναξχαῖρ', ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης. / πάντα φορητά, πάντα τολμητὰ τῷδε τῷ χορῷ. / πλὴν Ξενίου νόμοισι καὶ Σχοινίωνος, ὦ Χάρων,¹⁹ verses perhaps deriving from the same (parabatic?) context, but probably not contiguous.²⁰ As Kassel and Austin observed (*PCG* 4.299 *ad loc.*), in the third line the poet is perhaps playing with the ambiguousness between the name of the aulodic *nomos* and the surname of Callias, the comic poet, whose father was a maker of rush-ropes (cf. *Suda* κ 213 Adler ἐπεκλήθη Σχοινίων διὰ τὸ σχοινοπλόκου εἶναι πατρός). This would suggest that in Classical Athens the ancient *nomos* was associated with rush-ropes. Unfortunately, the lack of a larger context makes it impossible to understand if the joke concerned only the phonetic aspect or involved the meaning too: in this second case, the fragment would favour the interpretation Σχοινίων = 'Little rope'.

More promising are the elements which can be adduced to support the fourth hypothesis. The possibility that an aulodic aria could be named after a bird perfectly matches the musical metaphors used by a younger contemporary of Clonas, Alcman, to qualify his own activity as a composer: in one fragment (*PMGF* 39) the poet boasts that he invented the words and the melody of his song by harking to the tongued cry of partridges (φῆπη τάδε καὶ μέλος Ἀλκμάν / εὖρε γεγλωσσαμένην / κακκαβίδων ὅπα συνθέμενος), while in another (*PMGF* 40) he claims to know the tunes of all birds (φοῖδα δ' ὀρνίχων νόμω / παντῶν).²¹ This is the first appearance of the metaphor 'bird call = melodic custom (νόμος)'. Clonas too could use the name of a bird to refer to his song—obviously, it is impossible to say if it was he who gave the name to the aulodic *nomos* or, as is perhaps more likely, he just compared the melody of his own song to that of the bird and later this comparison inspired the name of the melodic scheme.

17 Cf. *Mus.* 1133f, Hesych. κ 3918 Latte, Phot. κ 1045 Theodoridis.

18 Cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 16.1.

19 'Hail ivy-haired Lord Euios, as Ecphantides said, / everything's got to be borne and dared by this chorus / except from the 'nomes' of Xenias and Schoinion, O Charon' (transl. E. Bakola).

20 Cf. Bakola 2010, 40.

21 On both the fragments see Gentili 1971.

Moreover, the *σχινίων* or *σχινίχλος* is associated by Aristotle (*HA* 8.593b) with another passerine, the *κίγκλος* or White Wagtail, because of the up-and-down movement of tail. This motion should be perceived as a well defined rhythmical cadence if the comic poet Autocrates (fr. 1 K.-A.) resorted to it to describe the dance of Lydian maidens honouring the Ephesian Artemis: the girls resemble the White Wagtail in sinking on their haunches and springing up again (vv. 6-9 καὶ τοῖν ἰσχίοιν / τὸ μὲν κάτω τὸ δ' αὖ / εἰς ἄνω ἐξαίρουσα, / οἷα κίγκλος ἄλλεται). This dance performance, known as *ὄκλασμα* or *Περσικόν*, was accompanied by the *aulos*.²² If the White Wagtail was recognized as a 'musical' animal, this could true for the Grey Wagtail too. In these terms, the *nomos Σχινίων* could be a melodic scheme, characterized, among other things, by a well recognizable rhythm, imitative of that of the homonymous bird in the same way as the melody of Alcman *PMGF* 40 imitated the partridge's song.

If the present discussion is acceptable, it is not difficult to understand why the *nomoi* Ἀπόθετος and Σχινίων were strictly associated with Clonas in ancient sources: both took probably their names from the very words of the composer, who boasted of the novelty of his own music, in the first case, and compared his melody to that of a bird (or said he took the melody from the bird's voice), in the second.

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Aristophanes' Bacchylides: Reading *Birds* 1373–1409*

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Abstract

The significance of Aristophanes in the history of ancient literary criticism cannot be doubted. Equally undoubted is also the dismissive attitude that he appears to have towards the musical and poetic innovations of the late-fifth century BC. This position of his becomes essential when one considers the manner in which he treats the appraised canonical lyric poets and the condemned representatives of the New Dithyramb. This paper is concerned with the reading specifically of Bacchylides in Aristophanes. It argues in favour of the use of Bacchylides' Ode 5 to Hieron in *Birds* 1373–1409 as well as for the poem's reconfiguration by Kinesias within the context of the New Music. In the process it will allow us to comment on a number of poetic characteristics of Bacchylides' poetry and also to draw conclusions on Bacchylides' status within the melic tradition as the poet in-between classical lyric poetry and the New Music.

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Keywords

Bacchylides – Aristophanes – classical melic poetry – New Music – comic criticism

The distinction between old and new in literature is one of the central themes of literary criticism in antiquity.¹ It appears, in particular, in the comparisons and contrasts drawn by ancient critics between the *mousikē* and lyric poetry of the sixth and fifth century BC and the new “harmonic” and musical *status quo* in the later fifth century;² the era of the so-called New Music.³ A sense of an ending in nostalgic Athenian writings, such as those of Aristophanes⁴ and Plato, emphasises their pivotal status both in this cultural change and in ancient literary criticism. Aristophanes in particular comments on and parodies the song-culture of sixth and fifth century and this continuous poetic (r)evolution.⁵ His plays show an interest in the way music and poetry changed through time. His musical and poetic criticism mainly focuses on the innovations introduced in poetry in the late fifth-century and especially on the new dithyrambic music and the modern tragic scene.⁶ His position within

- 1 The phrase ‘literary criticism’ refers to both formal and informal literary criticism, on which see in particular Ford 2002, esp. 2–22. The new in music and the rhetoric of innovation are characteristics one can find in Greek discourse already in the Homeric epics. D’Angour (2011, 184–206) offers a comprehensive discussion of the idea of the new in antiquity, from Homer to the *De Musica* of ps-Plutarch. He also demonstrates (pp.207–224) how literary novelty still existed side by side with this criticism of the innovative.
- 2 For the first study of late-classical melic poetry, see LeVen (forthcoming), who explores the dynamics between tradition and innovation in its composition and practice.
- 3 E.g. Pherecr. fr.155 K-A; Eupolis fr.326 K-A; Pl.R.395d–400a, *Lg.*669c–670a, 700a–701b; Aristox. fr.124 Wehrli; ps-Plut. *De Mus.* 1137b, 1140d–f. For an extensive list of source material and testimonia on ancient music in general and its changing character in particular, Barker 1984.
- 4 Barker (1984, 93) considers Aristophanes as “our most significant fifth-century witness” of the musical developments in the later fifth century. Also Pöhlmann (2011) comments on those passages in Aristophanes where he is concerned with the New Music as well as with the ‘new tragedy’ of Euripides.
- 5 Eg. Ar. *Eq.*985–95; *Th.* 39–69, 95–174; *Ra.* 202–68, 1296–1318 with reference to the changing poetics. D’Angour (2006 and 2013) explores this idea of ‘revolution’ and ‘innovation’ that fractured musical experience, and concludes that it was mainly based on technical and stylistic novelty that consequently altered the discursive and sonic experience.
- 6 Zimmermann 1993a, 43–45. Csapo and Wilson (2009, 282) note that “suddenly in the later fifth century musical innovation became an ‘issue’ for the Greeks” (my emphasis). Their claim is confirmed by a number of scholarly studies. E.g. with reference to the New Dithyramb, Ford (2013, 320–322) shows how Aristophanes criticizes Aeschylus for the excess in compound

the literary process is especially important when one considers fifth-century melic poetry. Aristophanes includes in his comedies names, quotations and paraphrases of or allusions to the nine canonical lyric poets.⁷ Except one: Bacchylides. In marked contrast to his treatment of the rest of the canonical lyric poets, Aristophanes appears to have ignored Bacchylides, who is neither detected nor named in his comedies.⁸ Bremer suggests that Aristophanes does not make obscure allusions to poets, and does not include unknown quotations intelligible only to scholars and intellectuals. "It is the famous bits, the golden bits and evergreens from Greek poetry which he uses."⁹ But Bacchylides and his poetry were known to Athens only a generation before Aristophanes' productions and the Athenian audience must at least have been familiar with his name, if not with his poetry. It is therefore paradoxical that Bacchylides is marginalised in Aristophanes' work.

One should certainly not assume that Aristophanes, one of the most erudite dramatists of his time, did not include Bacchylides in his plays because he was not acquainted with his work. An intellectual who knew the poetry of an era prior to his own, and who was acutely aware of contemporary musical developments, would at least have known Bacchylides' Athenian civic poetry. The hypothesis that the audience, or at least part of the audience had not heard of his name also does not hold water. Bacchylides' Athenian commissions suggest that he was famous in Athens and consequently known to the Athenian audience at least in the 470s-460s BC.¹⁰ If Aristophanes only included in his plays such names and poetry as his audience was expected to recognise, he could have legitimately included him. His exclusion may thus be accidental. On the other hand, one should also recognise the possibility that Aristophanes'

epithets for which he also parodied the New Dithyramb. Wallace (2003, 75-82) has also shown that the *aulos* was also marked by revolutionary musical changes in early fifth century, an era that was defined as traditional and always in comparison to the new character of music and poetry in the latter half of the fifth century.

7 The term 'lyric' is used in this case to refer to the canonical nine lyric poets. One can find eight of the nine lyric poets included in Aristophanes' comedies in one way or another: Alcman Ar.Fr.590.52-53 K-A, Av.250-251, Lys.1296-1322; Alcaeus, Anacreon and Ibycus Ar.Th.160-163; Alcaeus and Anacreon Ar.Fr.235 K-A; Sappho Ar.Eq.730, Lys.839; Stesichorus Ar.Nu.967, Simonides Ar.Nu.1356, 1362; V.1410; Pax 697-698; Av.919; Pindar Ar.Av.939.

8 Carey (2011, 452) points out that "only Bacchylides goes unmentioned."

9 Bremer 1993 160, which should be consulted for further exploration.

10 There is a good case for the view that three out of the six complete civic compositions of Bacchylides (Odes 15, 16, and 19) may have been performed in Athenian festivals with musical and choral competitions. On Bacchylides' Athenian civic commissions, see among others Barron 1980; Maehler 1997, ad loc; id. 2004, ad loc; Fearn 2007, 174, 181, 237.

silence may mean that Bacchylides was not popular enough at *that* particular period of time; after all, Aristophanes composed and produced his plays over thirty years after Bacchylides' competitions in Athens. But it is at least as likely that we should seek for an explanation in the nature of Bacchylides' poetry, since Aristophanes tends to include lyric poets for specific purposes related to the characteristics of poet or genre.¹¹

This paper is concerned with the implicit presence of Bacchylides in Aristophanes. The discussion will focus particularly on the parody of Kinesias in *Birds* 1373-1409, a passage where one can detect language from Bacchylides' poetry. I will propose a reading of these allusions within the context of Aristophanes' stance on classic lyric and the New Music. After a brief analysis of Kinesias' performance in *Birds* and of the re-contextualisation of Bacchylides' language in his verses, I will draw attention to a number of stylistic features in Bacchylides' poetry that may reveal his position within the melic tradition. The Bacchylidean elements in the *Birds* will hopefully clarify Aristophanes' view on and reception of Bacchylides' poetics.

Kinesias on Stage

The city newly founded by Peisetairos is visited by two poets: the unnamed Poet who praises the city and leaves after he is given new clothes (Av.905-959) and the poet Kinesias who wants to gain feathers in order to become inspired and compose an 'ethereal' song for Cloudecuckooland (Av.1373-1409). The first scene functions as a parody of the traditional and prestigious public choral celebrations.¹² The Poet appears suddenly, invokes the Muse, and flags his desire to sing for the new city (vv.905-907). The figure on stage is presented with specific, recognisable, melic characteristics; his performance merges the personae and poems of Pindar and Simonides,¹³ while recalling the foundation songs of the past that were commissioned by patrons such as Hieron of Syracuse (Ar. Av.924-929). This poetic caricature brings to mind the poets of

11 On the way in which Aristophanes incorporates the figures of the nine lyric poets in his work, Hadjimichael forthcoming (b).

12 The comment of the poet that he has been singing this newly-founded city for a long, long time (v.921 *πάλαι πάλαι δὴ τήνδ' ἐγὼ κλήζω πόλιν*) hints at his role as one of the commissioned poets of the past, who has already sung for the foundation of Aetna (v.926) and in retrospect the newly-founded Cloudecuckooland.

13 Ar.Av.919 *κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου* ('in the style of Simonides'), v.939 *Πινδάρειον ἔπος* ('a Pindaric saying').

the classical period and the varied civic commissions that were publicly performed in archaic and classical times.¹⁴ Peisetairos however rejects the norms that used to signal the importance of a new colony: Cloudcuckooland does not need the solemn poets of celebration. The comic rebuff of the services of the encomiastic Poet brings to mind the struggle between old and new: those traditional practices in the Athenian society from which Peisetairos and Euelpides had escaped, in order to found a new city that did not resemble the detestable culture of old. Another kind of old and new is also 'performed' in front of Peisetairos: old classical and traditional melic poetry versus new and modern music. This scene, where the prestigious choral celebrations are parodied, should be juxtaposed with the appearance of Kinesias on stage (vv.1373-1409). This may give us a snapshot of Aristophanes' attitude towards poetry and music and of the way he ponders upon the old and the new.

Kinesias appears on stage after Peisetairos has been pestered by a number of intruders whom he chases away. As in the case of the Poet, he appears unannounced and enters the stage singing. The poet parodied in this scene is a contemporary Athenian poet, who is specifically classified as a dithyrambic poet, a *kykliodidaskalos*¹⁵ (Av.1378, 1388, 1403f), and bears the name of one of the representatives of the New Music on Athens' musical stage.

Κι: Ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον πτερύγεσσι κούφαις·
πέτομαι δ' ὁδὸν ἄλλοι' ἐπ' ἄλλαν μελέων—¹⁶

Πε. Τουτί τὸ πρᾶγμα φορτίου δείται πτερῶν.

1375

- 14 Ar.Av.917-919 with references to two types of melic songs: songs performed by *kyklii khoroi* and *partheneia*. Dunbar (1995, ad loc) supposes that this reference (Av.919) could mean "in pure classical style," whereas Swift (2010, 174) suggests that *partheneia* in this passage may be "a catch-all for female song."
- 15 Martin (2009, 91) insists that, in contrast to the unnamed poet in the previous scene, Kinesias is not a wandering poet, but a *kykliodidaskalos*. His preoccupation with *kyklii khoroi*, suggests Martin (p.92), is more allusively indicated by the fact that his plan of getting wings stops when Peisetairos gives him a *khoregos* and a tribe of birds (Av.1405-07). On v.1378 as referring to the *kyklii khoros*, Fearn 2007, 165-181; id. 2013, 139.
- 16 Cf. B.fr.5 "Ἐτερος ἐξ ἑτέρου σοφός/ τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ῥάϊστον/ ἀρρήτων ἐπέων πύλας/ ἐξευρεῖν." ('One becomes wise after being influenced by another both in the past and now, for it is not easy to find the gates of those words that were left unsaid'). The phonic aspects of language and 'sound figures' were important for New Music, and this resulted in repetition of words and syllables. The detailed description of the use of phonemes in the New Dithyramb in Csapo 2004, 222-205 and 2011, 82-85 has shown that the new poets prioritised sound over sense.

- Κι. ἀφόβῳ φρενὶ σώματί τε νέαν ἐφέπων-
 Πε. Ἀσπαζόμεσθα φιλύρινον Κινησίαν.
 Τί δεῦρο πόδα σὺ κυλλὸν ἀνὰ κύκλον κυκλεῖς;
 Κι. Ὅρνις γενέσθαι βούλομαι
 λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών. 1380
 Πε. Παῦσαι μελωδῶν, ἀλλ' ὅ τι λέγεις εἰπέ μοι.
 Κι. Ὑπὸ σοῦ πτερωθεὶς βούλομαι μετάρσιος
 ἀναπτόμενος ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καινὰς λαβεῖν
 ἀεροδονήτους καὶ νιοβόλους ἀναβολάς. 1385
 Πε. Ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν γὰρ ἂν τις ἀναβολὰς λάβοι;
 Κι. Κρέμαται μὲν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῶν ἡ τέχνη.
 Τῶν διθυράμβων γὰρ τὰ λαμπρὰ γίγνεται
 ἀέρια καὶ σκότι' ἄττα καὶ κυναυγέα
 καὶ πτεροδόνητα· σὺ δὲ κλύων εἴσει τάχα. 1390
 Πε. Οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε.
 Κι. Νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα σύ γε.
 Ἄπαντα γὰρ δίδειμί σοι τὸν ἀέρα.
 Εἶδωλα πετηνῶν
 αἰθεροδρόμων
 οἰωνῶν ταναοδείρων—
 Πε. ὦ ὅπ.
 1395
 Κι. ἀλίδρομον ἀλάμενος
 ἅμ' ἀνέμων πνοαῖσι βαίην.
 Πε. Νῆ τὸν Δί' ἧ ἔγώ σου καταπαύσω τὰς πνοάς.
 Κι. τοτὲ μὲν νοτίαν στείχων πρὸς ὁδόν,
 τοτὲ δ' αὖ βορέα· σώμα πελάζων
 ἀλίμενον αἰθέρος αὔλακα τέμνων. 1400
 Χαρίεντά γ', ὦ πρεσβύτ', ἐσοφίσω καὶ σοφά.
 Πε. Οὐ γὰρ σὺ χαίρεις πτεροδόνητος γενόμενος;
 Κι. Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον,
 ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' αἰεί;
 Πε. Βούλει διδάσκειν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν οὖν μένων
 1405
 Λεωτροφίδη χορὸν πετομένων ὀρνέων
 Κεκροπίδα φυλήν;
 Κι. Καταγελάς μου, δῆλος εἶ.
 Ἄλλ' οὖν ἔγωγ' οὐ παύσομαι, τοῦτ' ἴσθ' ὅτι,
 πρὶν ἂν πτερωθεὶς διαδράμω τὸν ἀέρα.

(An.1373-1409)

C: 'Up I fly on light wings of Olympus', from one path of song to another I fly ...

P: Here's something that'll need a whole load of wings.

C: 'With fearless mind and body pursuing that path that is new.'

P: Welcome, lime-woody Cinesias! Why have you circled your circling club-foot here?

C: 'To become a bird is my desire, a clear-voiced nightingale.'

P: Do stop singing, and just tell me what you mean.

C: I want you to give me wings, so I can fly up aloft and gather new wind-blown, snow-clad *anabolai* from the clouds.

P: Can one gather *anabolai* from the clouds?

C: Oh yes! Our entire craft hangs on them. The glories of a dithyramb are all airy and misty and purple-glistening and whirled on feathers—listen and you'll understand at once.

P: Oh no I won't.

C: Oh yes, you will! 'For you I'll traverse the whole air, a shadow of winged, walking-on-aether, slim-necked birds ...'

P: Hey!

C: 'May I take the road to the sea, and walk on the breaths of the winds ...'

P: By God! I'll stop your breath!

C: 'Now taking a southerly way, now nearing the north with my body, ploughing the harbourless furrow of aether ...' What a clever trick you've played on me, old man! Charming!

P: Don't you like being whirled on feathers, then?

C: Is this what you do to circular-chorus trainer, the one that the tribes are always fighting to get?

P: Would you like to stay here, then, and train the tribe of Kekropis for Leotrophides as a chorus of flying birds?

C: You're making fun of me, I can tell. But I won't stop, you know, till I've got my wings and wander through the air. (trans. Barker 1984)

Kinesias probably appears on stage as the representative of the poetic innovations of the New Music. Yet he uses language derived from the poetry of Bacchylides, a poet of the classical era of melic poetry. Dunbar comments on how Kinesias' language in vv.1373-1409 is close to Bacchylides' Ode 5.16-33.¹⁷

χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας
κλεινός θεράπων· ἐθέλει

17 Dunbar 1995, 665.

γάρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
 αἰνεῖν Ἰέρωνα. βαθὺν
 δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
 ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
 αῖς αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
 Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου
 θαρσεῖ κρατερᾷ πίσυνος
 ἰσχύϊ, πτάσσονται δ' ὄρνι-
 χες λιγύφθογγοι φόβωι.
 (B.5.13-23)¹⁸

... a renowned servant of Urania with her golden snood. He wishes to pour his voice from his breast and praise Hieron. Cutting through the deep sky with broad swift wings on high the eagle, messenger of wide-ruling, loud-roaring Zeus, is bold, trusting in his mighty strength, and shrill-voiced birds cower with terror. (trans. Cairns and Howie 2010)

Though one can never be sure in the absence of direct quotation (and there is too little similarity of detail to allow one to judge confidently),¹⁹ the language here is highly suggestive. In both passages the main theme is flying and reaching the sky, and similarities in language and thought are remarkable. Both Bacchylides and Kinesias portray their desire to sing. The theme of patronage is accompanied by the will of the poet in both cases. Although the poet assimilated to the eagle *par excellence* is Pindar,²⁰ the extended description of the poet as a bird is suggestive of Bacchylides. Where Bacchylides uses the eagle as an implicit symbol of the poet and in order to express the poet's self-confidence in his task to praise Hieron,²¹ Aristophanes' passage makes the connotations more explicit. It seems that Kinesias has taken the main ideas employed in Bacchylides and elaborated on them. The specifics of his song and the descriptive details added to the received passage seem to have clarified

18 The passages of Bacchylides are taken from H. Maehler's 2003 Teubner edition, and the passages of Aristophanes from N.G. Wilson's 2008 OCT edition. Translations, including those in footnotes, are my own, unless otherwise stated.

19 According to Hinds (1998, 120), allusive relationship "is built upon a perception of similarity and a perception of difference."

20 Σ. Pi. O.2.157a; Σ. N.3.143; Σ. N.5.39. On the image of the eagle in Pindar, Pfeijffer 1994, 305-315; on whether the eagle is or is not applied to Pindar, Stoneman 1976 and Angeli Bernardini 1977.

21 On the image of the eagle in Bacchylides, Lefkowitz 1969, 53-57 and Pfeijffer 1994, 316-317 who argues that it is retrospectively applied to the poet.

its meaning:²² the first-person singular attributed to the voice and persona of the performing poet coupled with the present tense for the act of flying (ἀναπέτομαι), which was presumably visually executed or at least mimicked on stage, and the repetition of his intense desire (βούλομαι) collectively paints a picture that is more immediate and vivid than the original.

Similarities between the two passages are striking in terms of language and imagery, and are suggestive, if not of direct imitation, at least of adaptation of distinctive Bacchylidean features. Kinesias has expanded, in a random order, on the main ideas in Bacchylides' passage. As the eagle cleaves the deep heavens with his feathers, Kinesias flies from north to south across the infinite ether and flutters along the thousand paths of poetry, just as Bacchylides' Muse can choose from many and different paths to praise Hieron's virtue (B.5.31-33). Whereas in Bacchylides the emphasis is placed on the fear that the eagle's grand flying causes to the 'clear-voiced' birds, Kinesias gives prominence to his *fearless* flight stimulated by his new poetry. He wants to become a 'clear-voiced' nightingale, an adjective Bacchylides uses of himself in B.10.10 'a clear-voiced bee'—λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν. The Homeric adjective λιγύφθογγον is a *hapax* in surviving melic poetry (choral or monodic), whereas Bacchylides uses it twice, in one case referring to himself.²³ He is also the only melic poet who employs the nightingale image.

πράξα[ντι] δ' εὖ
οὐ φέρει κόσμ[ον σι]ω-
πά· σὺν δ' ἀλαθ[εῖαι] καλῶν
καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν
Κηῖας ἀηδόνος.
(B.3.94-98)

For one that has done well silence brings no ornament; but with truth of noble deeds someone will hymn, too, the grace of the honey-tongued Cean nightingale. (trans. Cairns and Howie 2010)

Kinesias combines the two images (and passages) in his words, as he expresses his desire to become a λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών.

22 The comment on how Kinesias clarifies the meaning of Bacchylides' verses, an argument based on his convoluted verses, is made in comparison to the original passage in Ode 5 that appears to be more 'pragmatic' and less 'overwhelming' than the adaptation. The reactions of Peisetairos who asks for an explanation, as the meaning of Kinesias' words is not clear, underline the obscure nature and unintelligibility of which the new poets were often accused.

23 B.10.10 λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν; B.5.23 ὄρνιθες λιγύφθογγοι φάβωι.

This fusion of features from diverse poetic manners—New Dithyramb,²⁴ Bacchylides and Anacreon²⁵—creates a musical pastiche on the Aristophanic stage. Uttered by Kinesias in a random order, Bacchylides' verses become part of the New Music he represents and gain a different resonance from the one they had in the original text.²⁶ In light of recent discussions on the role of musicians and pipers in the New Dithyramb, Barker postulates that the night-ingle is an enigmatic figure in Aristophanes' *Birds*.²⁷ After a close examination of vv.209-22 and vv.665-84, he suggests that Aristophanes associates it with the New Dithyramb and the degraded state of music. His conclusions, which seem plausible, suggest an additional meaning for the phrase λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών as applied to Kinesias. The combination of a Homeric/Bacchylidean adjective with the bird that symbolises New Music in this particular comedy suggests a combination between old melic song and New Dithyramb on stage.

Kinesias here may indeed be turned into the native scapegoat for mockery of the light-toned and voluble compositions of the New Dithyrambists, and he is himself expelled from the city just like the representative of the traditional classical melic poetry. Both of them are ridiculed, and neither is welcome. They are not needed, they are not good enough, or they represent the Athenian past and present that the characters wish to leave behind. Nonetheless, we should perhaps ask ourselves how much of New Music we actually have in the passage. Kinesias appears as ludicrously 'airy', a feature that is common in the portrayal of the New Dithyrambists in Aristophanes,²⁸ and he wishes to compose songs with *anabolai*. But although Peisetairos is not happy with what he hears

24 Pöhlmann (2011, 40-42) analyses the metrical structure of Kinesias' lyrics and shows that they are good examples of the style of the New Dithyramb. See also the metrical analysis in Parker 1997, 340-344. Pöhlmann (2011, 42) notes how v.1379 can be taken as criticism against the lame metrical foot Kinesias adopts in his lyrics. LeVen (2013b, 49 with n17) focuses on the separate elements of the compounds and explores the recycling of sound and thought in the passage.

25 Ar. Av.1372-74 ~ Anacreon fr.378 PMG ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλύμπῳ πτερύγεσσι κούφηις/ διὰ τὸν Ἔρωτ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔμοι <-υ> θέλει συνηβάν. ('I fly on light wings to Olympus in search of Eros; for [he] does not wish to pass his youth with me').

26 Hinds (1998, 101) points out that both the alluding text and the model text gain a different meaning in the process of allusion, but not both at the same time. Fowler (1997, 18) also argues that this kind of difference affects not only the meaning of the target but also our perception of it and of the scene in which it is used.

27 Barker 2004.

28 Cf. Pax 827-831. Kugelmeier (1997, 221): "Die physische Leichtigkeit des Fliegens wird zur Metaphor für geistiges 'Leichtgewicht', das der Kunst des Kinesias unterstellt werden soll." On the use of air as a substance of the metaphorical language of criticism and its negative connotations, Wright (2012) 110-113.

as he does not understand it,²⁹ Kinesias' words lack the meaningless grandiloquence that supposedly characterises the empty lyrics of the new poets.³⁰ As mentioned above, while his song recalls features of the New Dithyramb, it additionally alludes to a couplet by Anacreon and reworks Bacchylides. This particular scene invites us to contemplate the nature of 'the innovative' in literature,³¹ especially as Aristophanes' Kinesias in the *Birds*³² sounds more like Bacchylides than like Kinesias himself.

Bacchylides' 'New Style'

As Ford argues persuasively, *Av*.1373-1385 imply that "the new dithyramb relied excessively on striking epithets," a comment supported by both the scholion on the passage³³ and the attention comedy draws on the accumulation of epithets in the New Dithyramb.³⁴ It has long been recognised that one of the main features of Bacchylides' poetry is *enargeia*,³⁵ an aesthetic and narrative quality achieved primarily through stylistic ornamentation.³⁶ Bacchylides'

29 Ford (2013, 319) enumerates the accusations one can find in vv.1373-1385 against Kinesias' song and the poetry he represents.

30 E.g. *Ar.Nu*.330-340, 960-972; *Th*.30-69. Cf. LeVen (2013b) 49n17 for a stylistic analysis of the passage in the context of the stylistic features of the New Music.

31 Innovation is often defined by its relationship to tradition, and tradition is recognised as such only because of innovation.

32 Cf. *Ar.Ra*.153 with Σ. ad loc on the virtuoso choral movements of Kinesias' songs. On Kinesias in Old Comedy, Kugelmeier (1997, 208-248) who analyses all the instances in which he is ridiculed in comedy and associates his findings with additional primary sources.

33 Σ *Ar.Av*.1383 παίζει δὲ πρὸς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν· ἔθος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ἐπιθετα λέγειν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοῦφον αὐτῶν. ('He ridicules the poems of the dithyrambic poets: for it is said that it was their habit to use epithets, mainly because of their vain character').

34 Ford 2013, 319-321, quotation from 319.

35 Kirkwood 1966, 98-101.

36 Segal (1985, 237) observes that one can find in Bacchylides nineteen compound epithets that are not present in other poetry. Bacchylides' compound epithets are constructed with elements denoting dark, crimson, and shining (κυανο-/φοινικο-/ἀγλαο-). Cairns (2010, 37-41) offers a rich presentation of Bacchylides' preference of epithets, mainly compounds and of visual character. A statistical analysis in Garcia Romero 2000, 51n15 shows that 62% of substantives in Bacchylides' dithyrambs are qualified by one or more adjectives, in contrast to Pindar's dithyrambs where the percentage is 47.6%. If we extend the quest to the victory odes, Bacchylides' odes appear to be more decorative with 48.7% in comparison to 44.5% in Pindar. LeVen (2013b) emphasises the ability of the New Dithyramb to create visual images and points out how this is facilitated by the use of compound adjectives (p.49).

use of epithets, often *hapax legomena* and neologisms,³⁷ endows his narrative with gracefulness and clarity of detail. One can detect in the passage parodied by Kinesias (Ode 5.13-28) the power of Bacchylides' narrative to 'animate' his images and descriptions. All the fundamental nouns in the passage are accompanied by an epithet: Urania is called 'the one with the golden snood' (χρυσάμπυκος) and her *therapōn* 'renowned' (κλεινός), the sky is 'deep' (βαθύν), the eagle is 'bold' (πίσυνος) and has 'swift' (ταχείαις) wings, Zeus is 'wide-ruling' and 'loud-roaring' (εὐρύανакτος, ἐρισφαράγου) and his strength is 'mighty' (κρατερᾷ), while the birds are 'shrill-voiced' (λιγύφθογγοι). The abundance of epithets in this passage slows down the narrative and creates a pause, which forces us to become conscious of the details.³⁸ The narrative picture becomes visual: we watch the eagle flying through the skies and, as our gaze follows the movement of his wings, the accumulation of the descriptive details adds power and vividness to the image.³⁹ The ornate texture of Bacchylides' narrative approaches the seductive imagery of poems of the New Music: newly-fashioned epithets and detailed descriptions in poems of the new poets made variety and *poikilia*⁴⁰ (in the sense of 'ornamentation') the main aesthetic effects of their poetry.

Bacchylides' narrative comes to a standstill with the visual details and the intensity of his descriptions in a manner similar to the way in which he exposes his characters' psychological turmoil, their emotions, *pathos* and *ethos*.⁴¹ The audience is invited to sympathise with Croesus' despair, and to feel sorrow for the fate of his daughters who weep and mourn in Ode 3; Heracles and Meleager are portrayed as vulnerable in Ode 5, and they arouse pity as they bring upon themselves their destruction; the narratives vividly express the fear of Aegeus and the Athenians in Ode 18 for the unknown figure that approaches

37 Gentili and Catenacci 2007, 341.

38 Segal 1976, 101, 107.

39 Extremely vivid and visual narratives appear in Bacchylides' athletic descriptions, on which see Hadjimichael forthcoming (a).

40 LeVen 2013a, in an attempt to explore the sensual and aesthetic experience of *mousikē*, examines *poikilos* and *poikilia* "as terms of aesthetic and self-conscious discourse on the nature of the sensory experience and its effects" (p.236). She notes in particular (p.240) that *poikilia*, as a term referring to musical complexity, becomes "one of the characteristics of the (much-discussed) virtuoso style of New Music." Csapo (2004, 227) explains how the New Music appealed "to senses, especially to the ears and eye of the mind." West (1992, 363) characterises the language of Timotheus' *Persae* as elaborate, exuberant, highly-coloured and with tendency to concentrate on pictorial details in his narrative.

41 Cf. Gentili and Catenacci 2007, 341, on how Bacchylides differs from Pindar in that he often analyses his characters' psychology; Csapo (2004, 228) comments on how *ethopoieia* was one of the main quests of the New Music.

the city, the agony of Proteus in Ode 11 for the frantic state of his daughters, the panic of the youths on the Cretan ship after Theseus' dive in Ode 17 and their joy when he re-emerges from the sea. Bacchylides concentrates on storytelling more than Pindar,⁴² and this noticeably affects the narrative quality of his poems. His mythical narratives are characterised by theatricality and dramatic mimesis,⁴³ mainly through dialogues and direct speech, and his mythical characters, who are given voice in the text, are often endowed with the dramatic quality of characters in Greek tragic drama. Theatricality, virtuosity of performance and music volubility were some of the most important innovations the new poets supposedly introduced to the established music and poetry of the time.⁴⁴ Bacchylides' Ode 18 displays all of the above features—ornamentation, visualisation, vividness, theatricality, *ethopoieia*—and two additional characteristics. For brevity's sake I cite only strophes A and Δ.

- A' Βασιλεῦ τᾶν ἱερᾶν Ἀθανᾶν,
 <ΧΟΡΟΣ> τῶν ἀβροβίῳ ἀναξ' Ἰώνων,
 τί νέον ἔκλαγε χαλκοκώδων
 σάλπιγξ πολεμηῖαν αἰοιδάν;
 5 ἦ τις ἀμετέρας χθονὸς
 δυσμενῆς ὄρι' ἀμφιβάλλει
 στραταγέτας ἀνήρ;
 ἦ ληισταὶ κακομάχανοι
 ποιμένων ἀέκατι μῆλων

42 Cf. Kirkwood 1966; Fearn 2012.

43 Calame 2013, 341 entitles his section dealing with Bacchylides' dithyramb "The mimetic narratives of Bacchylides."

44 West 1992, 44. Zimmermann (1992, 118-128), and Csapo (2004, 207-229) (2011, 65-89) offer detailed accounts of the characteristics of the New Music; with reference to the character of the dithyrambic genre, Zimmermann (1993b, 51-54) gives a short overview of the changing process of the dithyramb between the fifth and second centuries; Ieranò (1997, 37-48 and 205-232) gathers and analyses the relevant testimonia on the innovations introduced by the New Dithyramb; Wilson (2004, 303-306) considers briefly the manner in which stringed instruments were affected by the New Music; Csapo and Wilson (2009, 287-290) offer a concise overview of the musical characteristics of the New Music with special emphasis on Timotheus; D'Angour (2011, 202-206) accompanies his overview of the main technical and performative features of the New Music with allusions to a few reactionary tendencies. See also Richter, 1968; West 1992, 356-372; D'Angour 2006; Fearn 2007, 181-205; Power 2010, 82-86, 110-115 and 500-516; Kowalzig and Wilson 2013, 19-23; Franklin 2013; Power 2013.

- 10 σεύοντ' ἀγέλας βίαι;
 ἢ τί τοι κραδίαν ἀμύσσει;
 φθέγγευ· δοκέω γὰρ εἶ τιτι βροτῶν
 ἀλκίμων ἐπικουρίαν
 καὶ τὴν ἔμμεναι νέων,
 15 ὦ Πανδίωνος υἱὲ καὶ Κρεούσας.

...

- Δ' Δύο οἱ φῶτε μόνους ἀμαρτεῖν
 <ΑΙΓΕΥΣ> λέγει, περὶ φαιδίμοισι δ' ὦμοις
 ξίφος ἔχειν <ἐλεφανόκωπον>,
 ξεστοὺς δὲ δὺ' ἐν χέρεσσ' ἄκοντας
 50 κηϋτυκτον κυνέαν Λάκαι-
 ναν κρατὸς πέρι πυρσοχαίτου·
 χιτῶνα πορφύρεον
 στέρνοις τ' ἀμφί, καὶ οὖλιον
 Θεσσαλὰν χλαμύδ'· ὁμμάτων δὲ
 55 στίλβειν ἄπο Λαμνίαν
 φοίνισσαν φλόγα· παῖδα δ' ἔμ <μ>εν
 πρῶθηβον, ἀρηϊῶν δ' ἀθυρμάτων
 μεμνᾶσθαι πολέμου τε καὶ
 χαλκεοκτύπου μάχας·
 δίζησθαι δὲ φιλαγλάους Ἀθάνας.

Α'

King of holy Athens, lord of the delicately-living Ionians, why did the bronze-mouthed trumpet sound its warlike song just now? Does some hostile general surround the borders of our land? Or do mischievous robbers drive off forcibly the flocks of sheep against the shepherd's will? Or what is it that tears your heart? Speak; for I think that you, if any mortal, son of Pandion and Creusa, have brave forces to help you.

...

Δ'

He says that only two men accompany him; he has a sword with ivory hilt slung from his bright shoulders, two polished spears in his hands, a well-made Laconian cap about his fire-red hair, a purple tunic over his chest and woolly Thessalian cloak; from his eyes flashes red Lemnian flame; he is a young man in his earliest youth, and he has in his mind the toys of Ares, and war and battles with clang of bronze; and he seeks for splendour-loving Athens.⁴⁵

Plato's ethical and moral anxiety centred predominantly on the unruly and liberated melodic and instrumental realisation of the New Music that favoured sound instead of content, as well as on the lawless mixing of musical *harmoniai* and the chaotic melodies of the new poems (Pl.R.398d).⁴⁶ One can reasonably assume that the performance of Ode 18 was 'escorted' by the blare of a military trumpet (v.4. σάλπιγξ). The trumpet may have possibly replaced *ad locum* the *aulos* that normally accompanied dithyrambic performances in classical Athens,⁴⁷ or may have led off the performance of the poem only for its notes to give way to the sound of the *aulos*. Notwithstanding the non-association of the trumpet with the *harmoniai* that Plato worries about, its penetrating tone, mostly associated with battles (v.4. πολεμῆϊαν ἀοιδάν), and its introduction in the musical territory of the *aulos* must have struck the audience as bizarre, if not horrendous, and inappropriate.⁴⁸

The sonic innovation in the poem is also accompanied by a structural and performative novelty. Bacchylides seems to be experimenting with the form of the dithyramb in this poem, and its dramatic and dialogic structure makes its performance a problematic case. Whereas on the one hand the poem looks backwards to the "amoebean style of the original form"⁴⁹ of the dithyramb, as that was envisaged by Archilochus in his role as the *exarchos* of the chorus (fr.120W), it simultaneously looks forward to its generic evolution into the tragic genre. Although it is easier for modern readers to grasp the outline of the dialogue, it is likely that the dialogic nature of the exchange was also marked in the actual performance. The distribution of the parts to the chorus follows tragic patterns and this could have been the manner in which the contemporary audience perceived it.⁵⁰ Csapo draws attention to the

46 Wright (2012, 82) concludes that the way in which comedy considers the new forms of art and culture dangerous is analogous to Plato's and Aristotle's ideological objections to the New Music; cf. Pl.R.424c.

47 Cf. Arist. *Pol.*1342^a32–^b12, where he mentions the Phrygian mode as characteristic of the *aulos* and the dithyramb, and in retrospect the association of the *aulos* with the dithyramb.

48 It should be noted here that the trumpet is not mentioned in any other poems of melic poetry.

49 D'Angour 2013, 206.

50 Jebb (1906, 233); Maehler (2004, 193); Fearn (2007, 220 and 314n.173); Athanassaki (2009, 314) have recognised, among others, that this is a unique poem within the extant dithyrambic collection. Its dramatic structure and dialogic form associate the ode with tragedy, and the actual distribution of the parts to the chorus would bring to the audience's mind the tragic chorus. This particular performance would have suggested scenes in tragedy with these kinds of structural features, especially scenes in which the chorus attains a speaking

differentiation of roles within the chorus during the performance of the New Dithyramb often “at the cost of the chorus’ traditional unity”⁵¹ and links this quality with direct speech and the introduction of recitative verse. It is clear that Bacchylides breaks, if not the unity of his chorus, at least the unity of both their voice and unified role.⁵²

Furthermore, the Platonic school of thought condemned the New Music and its representatives⁵³ not solely for their liberal musical modulations, but also because they contrived to mix *thrēnoi* with hymns, paeans with dithyrambs, and to imitate aulodic songs and music in their kitharodic genres (Pl. *Lg.*700d-e). Ode 18 is an experiment with the dithyramb itself, and this structural independence from the norm of the traditionally chorally performed and triadically structured dithyrambs creates additional perplexity in any attempts to define generic boundaries. The Platonic view saw the dithyramb as predominantly a narrative genre (R.394b9-394c5), and Ode 18 does not fit into this frame. The choreutai assume roles within the performance and the direct speech gives the poem a mimetic quality. This also brings it closer to the structural and performative development that finally assimilated the dithyramb to the *nomos*.

Διὰ τί οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐκ ἐν ἀντιστρόφοις ἐποιοῦντο, αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι ᾠδαὶ αἰ χορικά; ἢ ὅτι οἱ μὲν νόμοι ἀγωνιστῶν ἦσαν, ὧν ἤδη μιμεῖσθαι δυναμένων καὶ διατείνεσθαι ἢ ᾧδῃ ἐγίνετο μακρὰ καὶ πολυειδής; καθάπερ οὖν καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ τὰ μέλη τῇ μιμῆσει ἠκολούθει ἀεὶ ἕτερα γινόμενα. μᾶλλον γὰρ τῷ μέλει ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι ἢ

role within the play: scenes in which the chorus exchanges words with a character, messenger-speeches wherein off-stage events are narrated, the tragic *amoibaion*, on which Popp 1968, 221-237; Zimmermann 1984, 153-261, or choral songs in which the chorus is divided into *hemichoria*. While it is not possible to know how the ode was performed, it is tempting to suggest the existence of a *koryphaios*, or performance by two *hemichoria*, one of which would have represented Aegeus. Jebb (1906, 233-4) claims that the ode is an exchange between the *koryphaios* and Aegeus, whereas Fearn (2007, 207n.153) finds plausible a performance in which the *koryphaios* holds the role of Aegeus.

51 Csapo 2004, 214 and 2011, 74.

52 Cf. the song with which Agathon enters in *Ar.Th.*101-129, where he pretends to be leading a female chorus who sing with him alternately.

53 West (1992, 369-72) lays out both resistance to and favourable criticism of the New Music. This confirms the often biased character of our sources, and particularly of modern scholarship, that emphasises the negative criticism of New Music in contrast to often admiring comments. See e.g. Antiphanes fr.207 K-A, where a character praises Philoxenus as the best of poets; Xen. *Mem.*1.4.3 where Melannipides is named as the best dithyrambist. On the special popularity of Timotheus in antiquity, Csapo and Wilson 2009, 279-281.

τοῖς ῥήμασιν. διὸ καὶ οἱ διθύραμβοι, ἐπειδὴ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν ἀντιστροφούς, πρότερον δὲ εἶχον.

(Arist. [Pr.] 918^b13-20)

Why were *nomoi* not composed antistrophically, while other songs, those for choruses were? It is because *nomoi* were pieces for competitors, and since they were able to perform imitatively and to sustain lengthy-exertions, their song became long and multiform. Like the words, the melodies followed the imitation in being continually varied. There was even greater need for imitation in melody than in the words. That is why the dithyrambs, when they became imitative, no longer had antistrophes as they did before. (trans. Barker 1984)

This extract from pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*⁵⁴ reveals a number of important issues related to Bacchylides' Ode 18. The theoretical framing for the generic distinction between *nomos* and dithyramb focuses on structural and performative characteristics ([οὐκ] ἐν ἀντιστροφῶσι), on acoustic changes (τὰ μέλη ... ἀεὶ ἕτερα γινόμενα) as well as on the mimetic function of the performance (μιμεῖσθαι). I will not go into the Greek theorization about mimesis or the issue of professionalism; I will only remark that [ps-]Aristotle is commenting on a dithyrambic evolution that becomes evident in the abandonment of the traditional antistrophic/triadic form that favoured choral performances, in the alteration of melodies in order to serve the mimetic end of the performance, and in an almost generic syncretism between *nomos* and dithyramb. I draw attention to the first and third comment of [ps-]Aristotle, both of which can be detected in Ode 18. Up to this point my comments on the poem have focused on the performative characteristics that map onto its dialogic form. These, as mentioned above, look both backwards and forwards. The comments of [ps-]Aristotle add an additional piece to the performative puzzle of this poem: the author sees the lack of strophes and antistrophes in the structure and performance of dithyrambs as drawing closer to the performative nature of the *nomos*. Following the passage's train of thought, it becomes unsuitable for choral performances. Even though one cannot comment with certainty on the performance of this particular ode, the passage from the *Problemata* offers us a chronological boundary for this kind of antistrophic dithyramb. That is when they become mimetic (ἐπειδὴ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο) and, I would add, innovative. New. Ode 18 seems to be somewhere in the middle. It does not

54 See Peponi 2013, 362-364; Franklin 2013, 232 for two interpretations of the passage in connection with the dithyramb.

abandon the strophic structure completely, as it consists of four strophes, but it does abandon the triadic structure of the 'traditional' dithyramb. It therefore collates through both its structure and performance facets of a number of diverse genres and of a number of different developments, both generic and chronological: the proto-dithyramb whose performance was presumably encompassed both by a chorus and an *exarchos*, the tragic genre as the biological *telos* of the dithyrambic evolution, and the *nomos* as the other end of the spectrum to the 'traditional' dithyramb towards which the abandonment of triadic structure gradually led.

A kind of blurring of generic boundaries, this time within the poetics of the song and not its performance, can also be detected in Ode 17. Despite its Hellenistic classification as a dithyramb, the existence of paeanic markers at the conclusion of the poem has led to a number of modern scholarly disagreements on its poetic genre.⁵⁵

ἡῖθεοι δ' ἐγγύθεν
 νέοι παιάνιξαν ἐρατᾶι ὀπί.
 Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηῖων
 130
 φρένα ἰανθείς
 ὀπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν.
 (B.17.128-132)

And nearby the youths raised a paeon with their lovely voice. Delian Apollo, rejoice with the choruses of the Ceans and grant a god-sent fortune of blessings.

The poem deconstructs its own narrative-frames, and the paeanic song of the youths endorses the performance itself, as the ode and the external song concludes with the sound of the internal paeon and the invocation of Delian Apollo.⁵⁶ Although the closure of Ode 17 creates a distinction between the two situations (myth and occasion) by differentiating the verbal tenses—the verbs that refer to the chorus *en route* to Crete are placed in the past (v.128 παιάνιξαν), whereas the verb referring to the god Apollo is in the present tense

55 On Ode 17 as either a paeon or a dithyramb, see e.g. Gerber 1965; Pieper 1972; Merkelbach 1973; Käppel 1992, 156-158, 184-189; Zimmermann 1992, 91-93; Hose 1995; Maehler 1997, 167-68; Rutherford 1997, 47-48, and 2001, 29, 35-36; Maehler 2004, 172-73; Pavlou 2012.

56 Cf. B.16.8 παιγόνων and the invocation of Pythian Apollo, on which Calame (2013, 344, 350-351) who draws attention to the invocations of Pythian Apollo (Ode 16) and Delian Apollo (Ode 17) in two poems that were classified as dithyrambs.

(v.131 ὄπαζε)—the poem does not unambiguously return to the *hic et nunc* of the occasion. The choral paeanic activity of the youths in the mythical narrative is in retrospect projected onto the actual choral performance of the Ceans. POxy.2368 can also be called as evidence for the confusion that Bacchylides' civic poems create with reference to their poetic genre. The papyrus preserves a commentary on Bacchylides' *Dithyramb*s that records Aristarchus' disagreement with Callimachus about his *Kassandra*: Callimachus classified the poem *Kassandra* as a paeon, whereas Aristarchus considered it to be a dithyramb.⁵⁷ The puzzlement, both ancient and modern, about the genre of those poems of Bacchylides that were classified in the Hellenistic edition as *dithyramb*s,⁵⁸ or, in the case of the *Kassandra* poem, whose dithyrambic nature was called in question, presumably resulted not only from the lack of the original *Sitz im Leben* for the Alexandrians, but also from that of explicit textual elements that would point to a Dionysiac cultic context, or alternatively from the presence in the text of both dithyrambic and paeanic markers.

The poetics of Bacchylides reveal that in spite of his classical status within the established lyric tradition, he also experimented with it. Experimentation and innovation may be features claimed for the majority of poetry and literature in antiquity, but a predominantly Bacchylidean trait is that a number of features in his poetry, especially stylistic but also structural, as we have seen with Ode 18, as well as aesthetic qualities and effects in his work, seem to point to developments in the poetry of the latter half of the fifth century. To be sure, Bacchylides in many respects appears to be at odds with the New Music; he is metrically very regular, he does not abandon strophic structure, nor does he use *anaboliai* in his poems. Regardless of a number of key differences between his poetics and the New Dithyramb, his affinity with the new kind of poetry has led to his characterisation as one of the pioneers of the musical evolution of the fifth century.⁵⁹

57 D'Alessio 2013, 119–122 discusses the genre of Bacchylides' *Kassandra* in connection to *kuklioi khoroi*. Cf. B.fr.60, which closes with the semi-paeanic refrain *iē iē*. Despite this closure, the poem could plausibly be classified as a dithyramb because it is followed on the papyrus by fr.61, which like the rest of Bacchylides' dithyrambos is given a title.

58 The term '*dithyramb*' is italicised, as Bacchylides' *dithyramb*s, with the exception of Ode 19, cannot be associated with Dionysiac mythological and cultic contexts. It has recently been argued that the term '*kuklios khoros*' is probably more appropriate to refer to performances of public non-dramatic choral poetry in classical Athens as it avoids the cultic term *dithyrambos*. On *kuklioi khoroi* and the *dithyrambos*, Käppel 2000, 22–27; Fearn 2007, 163–180, 205–212; D'Alessio 2013; Ceccarelli 2013; on the differences between the poetics of the dithyrambos of Pindar and those of Bacchylides, Calame 2013.

59 Cf. Zimmermann 1992, 116 and 1993b, 54.

Aristophanes' Bacchylides

Let us return to Kinesias' scene in the *Birds*. The passage from Bacchylides that Aristophanes alludes to is one of the most vivid and energetic descriptions in Bacchylides. Neither ridicule of Kinesias nor parody of his verses by Peisetairos necessarily constitutes mockery or rejection of the poetry of Bacchylides. This may be no more than exploitation of a 'purple passage' in a new context. This new context is of fundamental importance for understanding Aristophanes' reception of Bacchylides, and one should pay attention again to the specifics of the scene. Kinesias combines in the image he crafts for himself two different metaphors which Bacchylides applies to his poetic stature—the nightingale (ἀηδών) and the bee (μέλισσαν).

καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας
 νασιώτιν ἐκίνησεν λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν,
 ἐγχειρὲς ἴν' ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα
 ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν εἶη
 χάρμα...

(B.10.9-13)⁶⁰

But now his sister's husband has sent for the clear-voiced island bee, so that an eternal ornament of the Muses, a common delight for mankind, might be undertaken.

Kinesias takes the image of the bird, but he attributes to it the adjective that characterises the bee in Bacchylides (λιγύφθογγον), and he wishes to become λιγύφθογγος ἀηδών. It is rather puzzling that the image Bacchylides uses for his own portrayal is employed in the section with Kinesias and not in the scene caricaturing the archaic poet. If we pursue this paradox further, synthesis of verses from a classical ode in the voice of a modern and new melic poet could cast some light on the poetic and stylistic attributes that Bacchylides and his poetry may have had for Aristophanes, and also on his reception of Bacchylides. The altered Bacchylidean phrase λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν gains an additional resonance within the comic context of the particular scene; it may underscore the peculiar status of the poet Bacchylides and his poetry within the group of lyric poets. The parody of the grand lyric style in the preceding scene lends support to this assertion.

60 B.3.96-98 for the image of the nightingale is cited above.

Πο. Ἐγώ; μελιγλώσσων ἐπέων ἱεὶς ἀοιδᾶν
 Μουσᾶων θεράπων ὀτρη-
 ρός, κατὰ τὸν Ὅμηρον.
 (Ar.Av.908-910)

Poet: I am the Muses' eager servant, according to Homer, who launches a song of honey-tongued verses.

The image of the Muse's *therapōn* alludes to a number of passages,⁶¹ but Cairns correctly draws attention to the adjective μελιγλωσσος. It is found only in Bacchylides before Aristophanes, and it is found twice—B.3.97-98, and fr.4.63 μελιγλώσσων ἀοιδᾶν ('honey-tongued songs').⁶² In both Bacchylides and Aristophanes the adjective is used of poetic song (ἐπέων and ἀοιδᾶν), and this strengthens the connection between the two poets. Bacchylides, however, also employs it of himself (μελιγλώσσου ἀηδόνος), while the image of the nightingale describes Kinesias in the following scene. The distinction between old and new in Aristophanes and the broader musical and poetic context of the comedy become instrumental for any kind of interpretation. The Bacchylidean adjectives that are employed in both scenes to denote either traditional foundation songs (μελιγλώσσων ἐπέων) or the image of the New Poet Kinesias (λιγύφθογος ἀηδών), and the image of the nightingale that becomes the metaphorical vehicle for the poet both in Kinesias and in Bacchylides, support the assumption that for Aristophanes Bacchylides had a poetic status between the old and the new.

It is therefore not surprising that Bacchylides' name is not to be found in Aristophanes' work. He would have been a puzzling case. He was a poet who in many ways belonged in the same category as Simonides and Pindar—his poetry was traditional, commissioned by great patrons, composed and performed in the classical era—but he nonetheless attempted new things that could, at the time, have been considered radical. One cannot characterise him as a New Poet, but he can reasonably be treated as a first generation innovator. For Aristophanes melic poetry was only to be divided into two groups, in the same way that tragedy was assigned only two distinctive poets and

61 Μουσᾶων θεράπων: Hes.Th.100, Thgn.769, Hom.H. to Semele 19-20, Margites l.2. Θεράπων ὀτρηρός: Hom. Il.1.321; Od.1.109; 4.23, 38, 217.

62 Cairns (2010, 13) who also notes *Prometheus Bound* 173-4 μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς/ ἐπαοιδαῖσιν as possibly influenced by Bacchylides.

poetic eras:⁶³ old and respectable classic lyric poetry versus new and innovative music, both precisely differentiated. Aristophanes' apparent fondness for binary opposition can be identified in plots that "dramatise old and new generations (e.g. *Clouds*, *Wasps*), political ideologies (e.g. *Knights*, *Ecclesiazusae*), or poetic styles (e.g. *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Frogs*),"⁶⁴ while the conflict between the "traditional old" and the "unconventional new", as Rosen suggests,⁶⁵ could be used as an interpretative tool to identify the tension one can detect in Aristophanes' plays. Thus anything falling between these two distinct groups did not serve Aristophanes' purposes: the name would not represent a specific era. As it seems, Bacchylides could not have been classified in Aristophanes' comedies as representative either of the old or the new, since his poetry was not a clear case; it existed at the edges of both trends, as it was practically a mixture of a number of elements from both traditionally old and innovative new melic poetry.⁶⁶ Bacchylides was melic but in a Homeric manner,⁶⁷ and he experimented with the forms, notions and modes of the established melic poetry. He even reworked the Homeric *Iliad* in Ode 13,⁶⁸ an unprecedented endeavour in the surviving corpus of the classical era. A number of his poetic characteristics eventually became distinctive features of the New Music and shaped the New literary dithyramb. If Bacchylides was best known in Athens for his Athenian civic commissions, the tendency to see his poetry as in some way resembling the New Music would have been strengthened. It was especially with his *dithyrambic* compositions that his modern-new-musical tendencies were associated.

63 As Dover (1997, 6) has pointed out, in *Ranae* Aristophanes displays his fondness for binary opposition and the need for stark and obvious contrasts to make his point; the poetics of Aeschylus and Euripides are portrayed in the play as polar opposites and frame the poetics of the absent Sophocles, who is squashed in the middle between Aeschylus and Euripides, chronologically and poetically.

64 Rosen 2010, 242. It is clear that Aristophanes was looking for radical features in every aspect of life: the gluttons, the extremely wealthy, the leading politicians who were notorious, scandalous or more powerful and more successful than average, on which Sommerstein 1996.

65 Rosen 2010, 242.

66 With reference to Bacchylides' *dithyrambs* Garcia Romero (2000) has placed them in a medial position and has already claimed that they are essential documents for understanding the evolution of the genre in form and content.

67 E.g. Jebb 1906, 63; Kirkwood 1966, 100; Carey 1999, 20-1; Fearn 2007, 20-1; Cairns 2010, 45-57 with reference to the quasi-epic narrative style of his myths; on the Homeric quality of Bacchylides' persona, Hadjimichael 2010-2011.

68 See Fearn 2007, 120-143.

The co-existence of old and new elements turns Bacchylides into a puzzling figure in the canon of the lyric poets; he was the poet squeezed between classic lyric, as that was represented by the canonical nine, and the New Music, as represented by Kinesias. In this sense, he could have been perceived simultaneously as the boundary between the two poetic styles, and a *mélange* of the characteristic features of both groups.⁶⁹ He seems to have been the poet in the middle⁷⁰ and was therefore a difficult case for Aristophanes, whose texts⁷¹ distinguish precisely and accurately between archaic and classical melic poetry and New Music. Hence he cannot present Bacchylides as representative of either group, and he therefore remains unnamed. Yet the ‘in-betweenness’ characteristic of Bacchylides’ poetics and his ‘intermediary’ melic status have left their traces in the text of Aristophanes.

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69 Prauscello (2012) has recently argued convincingly in favour of the transitional phase that Pindar's epinician belonged to; she documents how his poetry proves that he cannot be perceived as the musically conservative figure presented in our sources. Her conclusion does not alter the conclusions drawn above on Bacchylides; rather it confirms the possibility of the co-existence of the traditional and the innovative in poets that have always been perceived as classic.

70 The characterisation could apply to his position in connection both with Pindar and Simonides and with the traditional classic melic poetry and the New Music.

71 As Hinds (1998, 50) points out, “the alluding poet is ultimately and necessarily a figure whom we ourselves read out from the text.”

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Book Reviews

Cosgrove, C.H.

An Ancient Christian Hymn with Musical Notation, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck. 2011, xi, 232 pp. Pr. 69.00 euros (pb). ISBN 9783161509230

Since its publication in 1922 the fragmentary Christian hymn preserved on a late third-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (no. 1786) has featured as one of the most notable documents of ancient Greek music. Its five lines of text are now the subject of a medium-sized book by a professor of Early Christian Literature who is also a musician and has made a thorough study of the scholarship on Greek music. He states his aim as being to provide a comprehensive examination of the hymn as an expression of ancient music and early Christian faith. He has succeeded admirably.

An introductory chapter surveying previous work on the fragment is followed by a detailed study of the text and musical notation. C.'s transcription is very similar to that of Pöhlmann and West (*DAGM* 190), departing from it only in respect of two uncertainly read notes. Textual supplements are discussed with discrimination, though the suggested δεσπότηδες in line 1 would be contrary to metre; so would χ[ελα]ῖ[c]θων be in 2, as the poet does not admit either dactyls or proceleumatics in his anapaests, and anyway there is no verb κελάδω, only κελαδέω. The traces would suit χ[ρω]ζέ[ε][c]θων, if it could be given a suitable sense ('be tainted?'). The chapter ends with a table (35, by oversight duplicated at 124) comparing the scansion of the verbal text with the note-values of the melody.¹

Chapter 3 is an impressive commentary on the themes and motifs of the hymn, drawing on a wide range of pagan and Christian literature. This leads on to a "formal and rhetorical analysis", covering such topics as hymnic openings, reference to the celebrants, and the construction of imagined scenarios that embrace god and worshippers.

The longest chapter (46 pages) is devoted to musical analysis. After a brief introduction to Greek terminology, C. considers the hierarchy of tones in the

1 The spondaic scansion of ἀμήν is not as irregular as C. thinks: Eudocia scans it so in her *Life of St. Cyprian* (1. 131 and 322), and Nonnus has ἀμήν ἀμήν scanned – – – seven times in his Paraphrase of St. John's Gospel. Both scansions occur in Latin verse.

hymn, the profile and structure of the melody, its melisms, its patterning, its relation to word accents, and its manner of performance. He shows a thorough knowledge of the corpus and much insight. This is perhaps the closest analysis that has been applied to any of the musical texts. C. finds that the melody of the hymn, "perhaps more than any other in the extant scores, gives the impression of being composed to a large extent of loosely-paired patterns, where the second pattern varies the first in obvious or more subtle ways" (105). Using a sophisticated statistical approach, he shows that there is no significant correlation of melody to word accent, and in general that the evidence for such a correlation is weak for all the third-century fragments. His desire to exploit scientific reasoning to the utmost culminates in an attempt to calculate the lung capacity of the average ancient Greek and from that the tempo at which the hymn must have been sung if breaths were not to be taken in mid line (118-22).

In Chapter 6, "Social Setting", C. sets the hymn in its historical context. He discusses what sort of place Oxyrhynchus was, the size and social status of its Christian population, and the evidence for Christian literature and musical culture in the town. Against this background he considers the function of the scored hymn text, its performance setting, and more generally the Greek musical tradition among ancient Christian communities.

In a substantial appendix he investigates the question of pitch centres and tonality in Greek music. He observes a significant change between the Delphic Paeans, taken as representative of the Hellenistic age, and the music of the Roman period, the former being structured tetrachordally and grounded on the standing notes of the *tonoi* in which they are notated, while in later times the tetrachord loses its predominance and the *tonos* chosen for notation is often independent of the effective tonality. These are not wholly novel findings, but C.'s exposition is an important contribution to the literature.

Overall the book provides us with a wonderfully full account of the hymn and its background and context, musicological, historical, and ecclesiastical. The one thing obviously lacking is an image of the papyrus; this is odd, as the author thanks the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish one. We only get clips showing specimens of the eight notation symbols (29). The fragment is an awkward shape (it is a foot wide) and would have had to be shown in segments or as a fold-out, but it could have been done.²

A professional classicist would not have listed Loeb and other bilingual editions as the standard editions of Homer, the dramatists, etc., or given refer-

2 The reason why the text was written at right angles to the direction of the original roll was not to follow the fibres (13) but to allow for long unbroken lines, as generally in musical papyri wide columns are used.

ences such as “*Il.* 19.255-6 Murray”. He would not have supposed that the first syllable of χαζέσθων would be short (22), or written “the first two syllables of σιγάτω, which one might think are short, were in fact long, as an instance of σιγά in Synesius, *Hymn.* 1.82 shows” (124 n. 111). But C.’s strengths far outweigh his weaknesses, and his book is to be welcomed as a fine accomplishment.

Martin West

Oxford

Moore, T.J.

Music in Roman Comedy. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 2012, xvi, 452 pp.
Pr. £65.00 (hb). ISBN 9781107006485.

Awesome in scope and ambition, but mixed in quality. The contents: Preliminaries, i-xvi; Introduction, 1-25; Ch. 1, 'Tibiae and Tibicines', 26-63; Ch. 2, 'Song', 64-104; Ch. 3, 'Dance', 105-34; Ch. 4, 'Melody and Rhythm', 135-70; Ch. 5 'Meters', 171-209; Ch. 6 'Arrangement of Verses & Variation Therein', 210-36; Ch. 7, 'Metrical Structure', 237-66; Ch. 8 'Polymetry', 267-304; Ch. 9, '*Pseudolus*', 305-51; Ch. 10, '*Adelphoe*', 352-71; 'Conclusion', 372-9; Appendix 1, 'The Meters of Roman Comedy', 380-4;¹ Appendix 2, 'Meter and Character type', 385-94; Appendix 3, 'Metrical Features by Play', 395-8; Appendix 4, 'Exceptions to the ABC pattern', 399-402;² Appendix 5, 'Polymetric Passages', 403-9;³ Works Cited, 410-30;⁴ *Index locorum*, 431-43; General Index, 444-52.⁵ Sixty-eight tabulations occupy about 10% of the whole. There are nine illustrations.

The subject was briefly discussed by Beare and by Duckworth;⁶ Moore adds some good things, but not in proportion to the length of his book. The Introduction on the various possible sources for our knowledge tries to embrace both experts and readers who know nothing about Roman Comedy. Moore typically states why this road or that is blocked, or that that one leads nowhere anyway, but he has not decided which of the two constituencies matters more, and veers unpredictably between them, baffling the one and delaying the other. This is a recurring problem. The topics glanced at here would have been better dealt with as and when needed, if anywhere. The whole of 1-21 should have been pruned or dropped so as to leave Moore's summary of his book on 22-5 as the only introduction needed.

That said, the first chapter on pipers and the varieties of their pipes is equally accessible to both constituencies and is easily the best in the book. Here Moore draws on archaeological as well as literary evidence for the mouthpieces, the

1 Naming and counting Questa's 26 varieties.

2 Moore 253 debatably asserts that in Plautus if A = senarii, C = trochaic septenarii, B = 'other meters', then the normal sequence is ABC.

3 Main passages scanned, translated, and examined: *Am.* 633-53, *Aul.* 120-61, *Cist.* 671-704, *Most.* 858-903.

4 About 500 entries. Handley's *The Dyskolos of Menander*, London 1965, 56-73 is missing (Menander's iambo-trochaics).

5 Skimpy and mechanical. Several entries are useless, e.g. the ones for *diaeresis* and *palliata*.

6 Beare, W., *The Roman Stage*, 1st ed. 1950, 2nd 1955, 3rd ed., London 1964, ch. xxvi, 'Music and Metre', 219-32 and Appendix M, 320-4; Duckworth, G. E., *The Nature of Roman Comedy*, Princeton 1952, ch. 13 'Meter and Song', 361-83.

reeds, the tubes, their bores, holes, and lengths, and discusses the breathing, the fingering, what each tube does, the noises it could make, the strident buzz of double-reeded pipes which carries well in the open air, reporting the lore of ethnomusicologists and the contributions of several specialist historians of Greek music. Good stuff.

Though he does it well and extensively, translating Plautus and Terence into prose is from Moore's perspective as a performance-critic inevitably reductive, for in these playwrights' *fabulae palliatae*,⁷ adapted from the repertoire of Greek New Comedy, much is delivered in unaccompanied 'spoken' verse (iambic 'sixers'), but usually still more is 'sung' to various musical accompaniment provided by the piper, both in the longer iambic and trochaic 'seveners' and 'eighters', and in the polymetric *cantica mixtis modis*, 'songs with mixed measures', the latter much fewer in Terence than in Plautus, but still there.⁸

The main problem of this music is that it does not survive, except implicitly in the quantitative metric of the dramatists' verse, which can speak rhythmically, even sometimes as to tempo and (so Moore contends) the 'beat', but is silent as to melody, keys, scales, etc. Because both the polymetric and line-by-line passages in the longer iambo-trochaic metres are sometimes referred to as *canticum*, Moore rejects the idea that there might be considerable differences between the kind of vocal delivery with musical accompaniment held appropriate to the one and to the other species and insists (100-3) that the piper's contributions to the performance of long passages of trochaic 'seveners' was no less prominent and 'melodic' (whatever that may mean) than in the polymetric passages; they are all just 'song'. Well, plainsong and jazz are both just 'music'. A minimalist view would be that in 'recitative' the piper provided a discontinuous backing with appropriately placed toots or formulaic phrases marking colon- and line-boundaries, hardly counting as 'melody' at all: Moore does not consider that possibility. The iambo-trochaic metres are not isochronous; trochees count three and spondees four time units. The default metre, the trochaic 'sevens', may range unpredictably from 23 to 29 time-units. There is only one way each for a line to have 23 time-units or 29, but there are 7 ways each for it to have 24 or 28, 15 ways each for 25 or 27, and 20 ways for 26 time-units; these add up to 64 always unpredictable ways that the *next* line may be formed, though there is a bias of about 3 to 1 for the longer ways. Whatever 'melody' the piper provided, he would have somehow to respect the major

7 He never uses the name of the genre. Why?

8 The balance in New Comedy had been different. There were no polymetric songs; relatively more was in spoken iambic verse, and correspondingly less in the long iambo-trochaic metres, which were likewise accompanied by a piper.

articulations of lines (caesura and diaeresis), and at least close in sync with the actor's delivery. If the piper were playing some repetitious 'tune' independently of the particular colometry (so Moore 137-8, 170), how could that ever be achieved or sustained? Moore further wants the piper to mark the 'beat' by blowing hard on the 'strong' places of the verse (156, 169-70, 229-340); ictus and accent reconciled by the backdoor. The situation in the polymetric songs is different, and in some musical respects actually simpler; for here there is plausible scope for carefully rehearsed 'melodic' accompaniment of every bit.

A different problem in chapter 2 and the following is that as a performance-critic given to speculating, Moore makes suggestions as to how something might have been realized, but these can at best only be suggestions; a sorites based on a guess cannot establish a fact, and Occam's razor does not work here. His argumentation (100-3) for a dichotomy 'speech/ song' rather than a trichotomy 'speech / chant/ song' is an example.

This is Moore's second book on Roman Comedy. The first⁹ explored that strange place, Plautopolis, with its deceitful and ambiguous inhabitants, the actors and the cast. It is more consistently successful than the present monster because it addressed a student readership with little or no Latin and nothing technical needed to be put across. Indeed Franko noted as a defect that there was very little on metre or music.¹⁰ Moore had however published on these in 1998, the first of ten papers over the next eleven years¹¹ which underlie the first eight chapters here, the last two being interpretative commentaries on lengthy¹² passages of Plautus' *Pseudolus* and of Terence's *Adelphoe*.

Moore closely follows Questa¹³ for the text and analyses of the polymetric *cantica* and for prosodical complexities where he cannot avoid alluding to them (cf. p. 7 n. 3). He has read Fortson,¹⁴ but is ambiguous about the interpretation of older Latin iambo-trochaic metrics as based not on the foot but the dipody, with *A B c D*... as the most favoured form of iambic, and *B c D*

9 *The Theater of Plautus: Playing to the Audience*, Austin Texas, 2nd ed. 1998 (1st ed. 1988) pp. x + 263. A third, *Roman Theatre*, Cambridge, 2012, is a whistle-stop tour of all Roman drama.

10 Franko, G. F., *BMCR* 1999 09 03.

11 *MRC* 422-3.

12 *Meliust exporgi lumbos atque adsurgier...!*

13 C. Questa, C., *Titi Macci Plauti Cantica*, Urbino 1995; *La metrica di Plauto e di Terenzio*, Urbino 2007, esp. 327-413.

14 Fortson IV, B. W., *Language and Rhythm in Plautus*, Berlin 2009, 20-35.

A... of trochaic movement.¹⁵ It is a bad fault in chapters 4 and 5 that while he accepts that analysis, he does not adopt the handy notation, or even mention it, and instead deploys a version of podic analysis which can only confuse the novice, is half-baked on the prosody, and flounders in comparison with Questa's account emphasizing the verse-places and colon boundaries rather than the feet.¹⁶

The conclusion is brief (372-3). Moore states in a passionate coda (373-79) that comparisons with modern opera, the musical, or film "are fraught with danger", but goes ahead regardless. Typos are admirably few,¹⁷ but the light-weight font chosen is difficult to read on the shiny paper used.

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- 15 Gratwick, A. S., *Plautus Menaechmi*, Cambridge 1993 44-63, 248-60, *Terence Adelphoe*, Warminster 1999, 209-37; J. Barsby, J., *Terence Eunuchus*, Cambridge 1999, 290-304; Christenson, D., *Plautus Amphitruo*, Cambridge 2000, 56-71.
 - 16 Questa 2007 did not mention the new analysis or the alphabetic notation; I don't know why.
 - 17 In the General Index the lemma for 'Anapest' has been lost, and the references misapplied to the preceding entry.